

AFRICANA COLLECTANEA

VOLUME IX



C. STRUIK
Africana Specialist and Publisher
12-14 QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, CAPE TOWN

This edition is limited to 750 copies.
Numbers 1-75 are specially bound in de luxe binding.

*This is number.....***667**

PUBLISHED IN THIS SERIES

- VOL. I J. M. Bowker
Speeches, Letters and Selections
- VOL. II R. Godlonton
Narrative of the Kaffir War 1850-1851-1852
- VOL. III W. C. Holden
The Past and Present of the Kaffir Races
- VOL. IV W. C. Holden
History of the Colony of Natal
- VOL. V S. M. Molema
The Bantu Past and Present
- VOL. VI Capt. William Cornwallis Harris
The Wild Sports of Southern Africa
- VOL. VII G. W. Stow
The Native Races of Southern Africa
- VOL. VIII Sir Andries Stockenström
Autobiography (Vol. I)
- VOL. IX Sir Andries Stockenström
Autobiography (Vol. II)

Printed by GOTHIC PRINTING COMPANY LTD Cape Town

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE LATE
SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTRÖM

VOLUME TWO

Facsimile reproduction of the 1887 edition

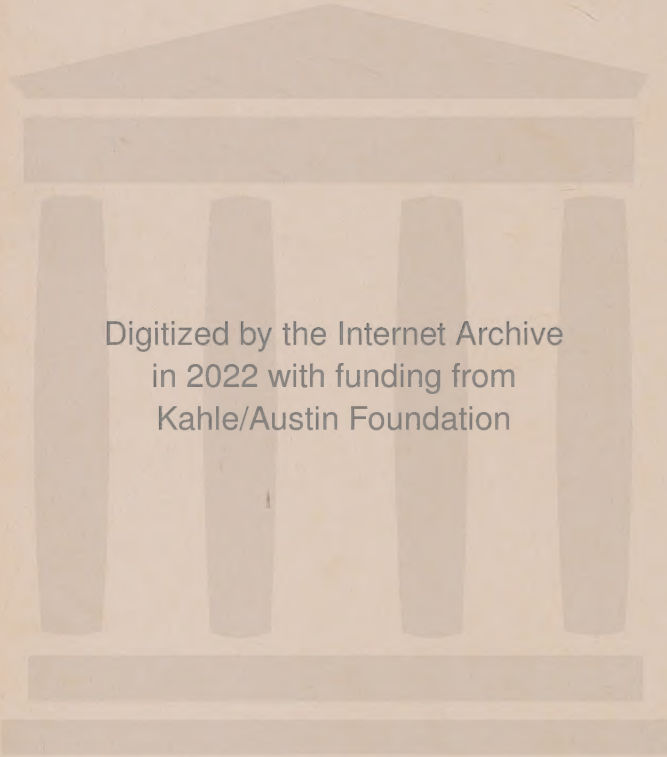
C. STRUIK / CAPE TOWN / 1964

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF THE LATE

SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, BART.

VOLUME II.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF THE LATE

SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, BART.,

SOMETIME LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE EASTERN
PROVINCE OF THE COLONY OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

EDITED BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE HONOURABLE C. W. HUTTON, M.E.C.,
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

WITH A PREFACE BY

HIS HONOUR S. G. A. SHIPPARD, C.M.G.,
ADMINISTRATOR OF BRITISH BECHUANALAND, ETC.

"Oh for the touch of a vanished hand,
Or the sound of a voice that is still!"
LONGFELLOW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

CAPE TOWN:
J. C. JUTA AND CO.

1887.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- Page 134, line 25, *for* "Somerset" *read* "Stockenstrom."
,, 158, ,, 17, *for* "could" *read* "would."
,, 169, ,, 27, *for* "even" *read* "ever."
,, 330, lines 24 & 25, *for* "has been already" *read* "will be hereafter."
,, 347, line 10, *for* "accounts" *read* "account."

B
St 619a
v. 2

SAN FRANCISCO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

3 1223 00369 7357

CONTENTS TO VOL. II.

CHAPTER XX.

1833.

	PAGE
Letters from Germany—And London—On various topics—Slavery and its extinction—Emancipation—Apprenticeship—Tables turned—Appreciates friendship of virtuous—Justice and Liberty—Fairbairn—Vagrant Laws—Hottentots—Retrospect on Administration in Graaff Reinet—Heemraden—Dr. Philip—Equal justice to all—Colonists vindicated—Masses excellent—Opinion of Sir L. Cole—Colonial Secretary—Seat in Council—Commissioner-Generalship—Why resigned—Seat in Council abolished—Kindness of Governor—Intrigues at Home—Treatment in Downing Street—Interview with Kay—Assured of high esteem of Government—Visit to London in 1835—Abuses of Patronage—Evidence before Committee of House of Commons—Hostility of Dr. Philip	I

CHAPTER XXI.

1834-1836.

1835. Residence in Stockholm—Death of Stoll—Summoned to London—Evidence before Parliamentary Committee—Returns to Stockholm—Recalled to London—Quits Stockholm with family—Reaches London January 1836—Interviews with Lord Glenelg, &c.—Letter to Lord Glenelg—Full statement of views—Impolicy of proclaiming Kaffirs British subjects—Upholding Chiefs—Tambookies—Provision for Defence of Colony—Welfare of Kaffirs—Mode of dealing with Kaffirs—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Voyage in the <i>Lord W. Bentinck</i> —Small-pox—Quarantine—Reception by Sir B. D'Urban—Governor wishes to introduce new system—Lieutenant-Governor declines pending

	PAGE
instructions—Supreme Court on Martial Law—Martial Law abolished—Condemnation of D'Urban System by Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith—Ordered by Governor to introduce Glenelg System—Addresses—Graham's Town Address and reply—Conflict with Governor—Popularity of Governor—Hostility of War Party—Conspiracies—Boers incited against Lieutenant-Governor—Welcome <i>en route</i> to Graham's Town—Causes of Boer Exodus	27

CHAPTER XXII.

1836-1837.

Important Despatches showing state of Frontier—First meeting of Kaffir Chiefs—Truth concerning D'Urban System—Complaints of Hottentot levies—Abandonment of certain Posts—Disposal of military forces—Kaffir depredations—Location of Fingoes—Captain Rabe—Report on Kat River—Shiloh—Up-eating System—Mapassa—Piet Retief—Cradock—False reports—Northern Border—Necessity of law empowering Colonists to defend life and property—Causes of discontent—Emigration of farmers—Again insists on farmers being allowed to protect their property—Incessant Kaffir depredations—Examples of Up-eating System—Conspiracy of Kaffirs to massacre Europeans at meeting—Unrest in Kaffraria—Piet Retief—Further grievances of Colonists—Letter to Van der Walt—Sir B. D'Urban withholds Lieutenant-Governor's Despatches from Secretary of State—Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir G. Napier	65
--	----

CHAPTER XXIII.

1836-1837.

1836. Introduction of Glenelg System— <i>Résumé</i> of state of affairs—State of parties—Of Frontier—Of Kaffirs—Submits programme of his plans—Reports discussion with Kaffir Chiefs—Details—Colonel Somerset reports tranquillity— <i>Précis</i> of Treaty—Instructions and Regulations—First Annual Report on Frontier under Glenelg System—Reports Umhala's visit to Graham's Town	94
---	----

CHAPTER XXIV.

1837.

Moodie <i>vs.</i> Fairbairn—Report thereon by Lieutenant-Governor to Secretary of State—Stockenstrom <i>vs.</i> Campbell—Trial of Lieutenant-Governor for murder—His defence—Fully acquitted—Letter to Sir George Napier.	130
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

PAGE

1838-1839.

- 1838-1839. Lieutenant-Governor leaves for England in *Larkins*—
Wrecked off the Scillies—Landed from pilot-boat—Fears for
Larkins—*Larkins* ashore—Journey to London—Interview with
Lord Glenelg and others—Tenders resignation—Not accepted
—Increase of salary—Change of Ministry—Lord Normanby—
Major Charter's interference—Unpopularity—Dismissal—Sir G.
Napier denies Major Charter's assertion—Charter's apology—
Lord John Russell—Offers West Indian Government and Knight-
hood—Declined—Created Baronet—Lord Glenelg asks for
military promotion for Stockenstrom—Refused—Sickening de-
tention in London—Loss of money—Returns to Cape in *Larkins*
—Wearisome voyage 183

CHAPTER XXVI.

1840-1846.

- 1840-1846. Opinion of Sir George Napier—Lord Normanby—
Patronage, favouritism, corruption—Announcement of the new
Honour at Cape Town—Justice Menzies—His Frontier Policy
—His Proclamation, annexing country beyond Orange River—
Welcome of Sir A. Stockenstrom everywhere—Quiet life at
Uitenhage and Maasstrom—Sir P. Maitland—Outbreak of war
of 1846—Commandant-General—Narrative of campaign—Sir P.
Maitland recalled—Lord Grey ignores services of Burghers—
Reward of Commandant-General 210

CHAPTER XXVII.

1847-1853.

- 1847-1853. Sir H. Pottinger renews war—Asks assistance of Sir A.
Stockenstrom—Journey to Block Drift—No Burgher Force—
War Office—Treatment—Difference in 1861—Sir Henry Young
—Separation of provinces—Arbitrary Government—Andries Pre-
torius—Refused interview—Consequences—Zacharias Pre-
torius—Sir Harry Smith—Elected to seat in Council—Resigns
—Departed with Fairbairn—War of 1851—Why not in com-
mand of Burghers—Hostility of Government—Official calumnies
—Disgraceful proceedings—And rumours circulated—Lord J.
Russell attacks him in Parliament—Burning of Maasstrom—By
whom done—At whose instigation—Proofs against perpetrators
—Conduct of Kaffir Adam—Cabals and factions—Returned as
Member of Council—Travelling allowances as M. L. C.—Visits
Frontier 1852—Again in 1853—Establishment of Bedford . . . 291

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1850-1851.

1850-1851. Further information on state of affairs—John Montagu—Character—Despotism—Letter of 1st July, 1850—On condition of country—Lament wars—Miseries of farmers and others—Enquiry necessary—Farmers on Klaas Smit's River—Tambookies—Boers and Tambookies—Review of past History—Events of 1846, 1847, and 1849—Zacharias Pretorius—Advice to him—Second visit of Z. Pretorius—Advice to him—Disturbances beyond Orange River—Complaints of Kaffirs—Injustice—Oppression—Violation of Treaties—Earlier Historical facts—Distress of Natives—Further Historical facts—Falsehoods unmasked—Falsehoods respecting D'Urban War and Policy—And Glenelg Policy—Andries Botha's complaints—Election to Council—Hostility of Colonial Secretary to popular Members—Resigns—Glen Lynden Church—Commissary Munro—Domineering Trio—Lord John Russell attacks him—Conspiracies against Sir Andries while in England—Public feeling excited against him on Frontier—And in Cape Town—Calumniated in High Quarters—The Queen—Convict agitation—Necessity for change of Government—Work in London—Mr. Adderley—Lord Derby—Parliamentary Committee—Letter to Secretary to Municipality	316
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

History of Kat River Settlement—Division of Stockenstrom . . .	349
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

1852-1864.

Short Review by Sir A. Stockenstrom of the principal events in which he had taken part—Leaves for England in 1856—Sojourn on the Continent of Europe till 1858—Visit to the Colony in 1860—Voyage in the <i>Cambrian</i> —Gratifying reception everywhere—"Good night!"—Return to England in 1862—Death in 1864—Appreciated by Colonial Press—Obituary notice . . .	445
---	-----

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF THE LATE
SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM, BART.

CHAPTER XX.

1833.

Letters from Germany—And London—On various Topics—Slavery and its Extinction—Emancipation—Apprenticeship—Tables turned—Appreciates friendship of virtuous—Justice and Liberty—Fairbairn—Vagrant Laws—Hottentots—Retrospect on Administration in Graaff Reinet—Heemraden—Dr. Philip—Equal Justice to all—Colonists vindicated—Masses excellent—Opinion of Sir L. Cole—Colonial Secretary—Seat in Council abolished—Kindness of Governor—Intrigues at Home—Treatment in Downing Street—Interview with Kay—Assured of high Esteem of Government—Visit to London in 1835—Abuses of Patronage—Evidence before Committee of House of Commons—Hostility of Dr. Philip.

IN the previous chapter allusion has been made by Sir Andries to his letters and papers on public matters written from Germany and Sweden. These letters are far too voluminous to be laid before the reader. They contain the fullest possible reviews of the condition of the Slaves—of the laws relating to slavery—of the emancipation, and the apprenticeship for a period of the emancipated slaves, and his views and opinions on the whole subject. They next deal with the condition of the Hottentots, and other free natives, exposing fully the trickery, intrigues, favoritism, jobbery and corruption, which prevailed in the highest quarters, and his abhorrence of glaring acts of injustice done to many worthy men. The following extracts, which have been selected as concerning himself

personally, and as setting forth his views and his principles of action, as well as his special reasons for resigning the office of Commissioner-General, will suffice to enable the reader to form a true estimate of his character.

Ulm, September 16, 1833.

* * * * *

It does not signify much whether I am considered a friend to slavery or an ultra philanthropist. I am not of sufficient importance to affect the question either way.

* * * * *

The abuse that will be heaped upon me by either party will not give me the slightest concern. I have more than once been the subject of attack at the Cape, not merely on questions connected with the blacks; my apparent good fortune could not escape the eye of jealousy; but the assailants appeared to me so utterly contemptible, that even the disappointment which I knew they would feel on finding that all their malevolence, spite and villainy could neither injure nor excite so much as an angry feeling, never gave me the slightest satisfaction. In short (if I may allow myself a vulgar phrase), I left the scurvy curs to scratch and growl, except on a late occasion when I thought the puppy's station rendered it necessary to check his insolence. If I were really indifferent about public opinion I should be ashamed to own it. There are many whose approbation it has been the study of my life to obtain, but there are also some whose cordial hatred I have considered barely less desirable as an almost equally convincing proof of the non-existence of absolute worthlessness.

If popularity hunters cannot or will not understand the fable of "The man, his son, and his ass," let them only see how the first men of the age are lauded and idolised to-day by the identical mass who will vilify and pelt them to-

R.

Tr

A

R O

12

5

morrow, and I am sure they will, with me, be satisfied that a modest incognito becomes our insignificance better than all the puffs which as light a breath as that which brought them forth can disperse in an instant.

The approbation of a well-constituted mind is worth all the cheers, praise, and addresses which the mad multitude can lavish upon an ephemeral favourite.

For the temporary torments which I once suffered from an infamous cabal, I was amply compensated by the heart-burning with which the disappointed tools vented their fury in impotent blustering and foaming rage, in full consciousness of my own and every honest man's contempt.

As for the scribblers of the trash you comment on, they, I think, do not deserve so much severity. Poor souls! I do not think they mean me any real harm, but "they must eat," and they know that in the course of office, it has been my unpleasant business to keep many men tightly to their duty, prevent their tricks or expose their folly. All these never having found any opportunity for revenge, must be delighted with any little bit of waggery or abuse levelled at me, and if this can create sale for a few additional copies of such productions, and supply the authors with an additional lump of sugar to their grog, why should we grudge either party—beggars in purse or beggars in mind—this little piece of gratification. As a set-off you think I may turn to the many complimentary documents in my possession. Ah! that would be a poor reed indeed to lean upon! Woe me if ever I be driven to that extremity. Among the many names affixed to those which I look upon with delight, I see those of men whose favour (however feigned or short lived) I am ashamed ever having possessed, and who at the very moment they signed would have been glad to

plant a dagger in any vital part if they had but seen a vulnerable spot. So much both for Colonial popularity and unpopularity.

* * * * *

I have always maintained that that state of Society (Slavery) ought to be put a stop to, and that the only safe way of doing so was to let every child be declared free at its birth. I have been bitterly abused for this by some of my countrymen, but all ill on their part I can easily forgive. They have indeed been step-children, and no wonder that on finding the parent equally indifferent about all their grievances they should become bitter against a brother who suffered with and for them, but happens not to agree with them in every one of their complaints. My opinion is now firmer than ever. No increase should have been allowed, and the existing numbers would have disappeared by degrees. Nothing more than good government and conciliation was necessary to bring the proprietors cordially to co-operate. The calls of justice and humanity would have been responded to without the least shock being felt, much more to the advantage of the existing generation of slaves, and England would have kept her twenty millions ; but all the mass of eloquent absurdity, inconsistency, and contradictions which has been poured into the Colonies in the shape of Orders in Council, Proclamations, and Despatches with reference to the slaves, has altogether altered the state of the case. A very sincere Abolitionist said to me lately, "Oh, every man of common sense knew full well the impossibility of carrying these ameliorative laws into effect ; but the object was to agitate and agitate, so as to make slavery intolerable to all parties, and to leave no possible outlet except *emancipation*. The Government has been whipped and

spurred into it as much as the slave proprietors." Whether he meant to compliment those who, from a love of place, could consent to be "whipped and spurred" into the enforcement of impossibilities at the risk of insurrection and bloodshed, or whether he meant to deny them "common sense," I know not; but he certainly did show the real character of those "masterpieces of legislation" which were to be forced upon the community by means of martial law, the gallows, and *transportation* without trial. At all events, whatever the object was, the result is this—the slaves *must* be emancipated, if even not one farthing of compensation be given; and if I think the means just stated unwise and dishonest, I never had any doubt of the indisputable right of the slave to his freedom. I say the object is gained. Emancipation is become "the only possible outlet." Slavery is become "intolerable to all parties." It cannot exist without that authority which can never again be restored to the masters. The slave can no longer be a useful servant. The master can have nothing but loss and vexation from keeping him.

* * * * *

As to the question whether the liberated slaves will work, I never entertained a doubt on the subject. Nothing but the just impartial execution of *wise* vagrant laws, without at one moment courting the popularity of the whites in the Colony, and the next trembling for the attacks of the friend of the blacks at home, will be requisite to show that as sure as "emancipated slave apprentice labour" is worse than useless—so far inferior as it is to slave labour, so far superior is that of the free man to the latter.

I know that these views would procure me a precious cutting-up at the Cape. Never mind, I would not cloak

them for all that. The day will come when my countrymen will see who were their best friends; those who suffered with them and honestly tell them their minds, or those who flatter their prejudices, gain their applause, whilst they cheat them with their eyes open and fill their pockets at their expense. That day when perhaps we shall be stewards, or overseers, or worse, on what were once our lands to those who are to build their fortunes out of our ruins. When, in short, "*the tables shall be turned*," as a very wise liberal-minded Commissioner once predicted, as a desideratum certain of speedy consummation.

* * * * *

The affection of my brethren would to me have been the most valued treasure. To serve them well has ever been my proudest wish. At one time I thought I might flatter myself that I had succeeded to some little extent in both these objects, and of nothing was I ever more proud than the almost unanimous admission of the fact, because I had done my best to deserve the goodwill of the *virtuous* and the *wise* among them; but to those who supposed that our own welfare was incompatible with the improvement of the less favoured branches of our community, who would have me to deny that the aborigines had been barbarously and cruelly, nay, brutally, dealt with, and that a more just course was indispensable, and would prove a blessing to both parties, who think it a dereliction of public duty to themselves not to join in the clamour against the relief which humanity demands, as well as against the men who struggle to obtain it for their fellow-creatures, who they see would be crushed but for their advocacy—to those I could but say, "the price of your approbation is above my means." Their ill-will and abuse I have already said I can forgive. They have

cause for irritation. The shoe pinches, and if the shoemaker cannot be got at, it may be some comfort to have a kick at the other foot, which perhaps suffers just as much, and the crippling of which only increases the evil.

I sincerely wish that those persons who have so gloriously defended the cause of Justice and Liberty in that Colony would in this respect follow my example, and make the necessary allowances for the *causes* of the feelings of their antagonists. They have often been attacked with savage ferocity, it is true, but they have not always been without shame. They have a consolation which ought to enable them calmly to overlook the turmoil, knowing that time will bring them ample compensation. I myself have differed with these, and I still do so on some points. I have more than once distrusted their motives, and in the height of vexation broke loose against them. They have, I dare say, paid me in the same coin ; yet temporary irritations and their occasional mistakes cannot obliterate the memory of what they have done, since the effects will be long felt, and they should not by petty squabbles allow themselves to be driven from the defence of what is, after all, *their own natural side*—that of *all the Governed*. Fairbairn's claim, for instance, upon the gratitude of the Colony, nothing can cancel, unless we bring into the account that lamentable occasion when he threw his powerful force into the scale against the course which had always been so dear to him, and doing so in the hour of danger when that support was much wanted. Yet, however much we may differ on some points (and on that just referred to we differ as much as two opponents possibly can do) I believe no man ever did half as much good to the colony as he has done. His doctrines were, with the exception of that one instance, the most liberal and

rational, and his battles, though unpromising to himself, always for the weak and the oppressed. He first spread a torch in that country, the first glimmerings of which the strong hand of despotism, both there and in England, tried in vain to smother, and which by his firmness and integrity has already spread a glare which sooner or later will leave no nook dark enough for injustice and oppression to lurk in. But he cannot, and I believe does not, pretend to be always right. With reference to the Hottentots, I believe our ultimate views agree, but on the vagrancy question we differ decidedly.

* * * * *

Having come to this I can only again say that I believe vagrancy might have been prevented with the greatest facility after the promulgation of the 50th Ordinance, and that nothing more than just this was necessary to reconcile the Colony to that law within six months. I deny that there was a general feeling against the freedom of the Hottentots. The clamour was about their depredations, which acquired in the eyes of the ignorant (and not unnaturally) the appearance of being warranted by that enactment.

The history of my administration of the Graaff Reinet District would convince any unbiassed man that the Colonists generally were not blindly bigoted on the subject. Though I have been sneeringly numbered amongst Dr. Philip's converts (a charge like many others which I have never condescended to refute, nor would I see cause to be ashamed if it were true), every honourable man who knows anything about the matter will admit that I have, from first to last, acted upon one consistent principle of courting neither the white nor the black party. I knew my father's sentiments and tried to adopt them. I was a boy (if you please), but if boyish

tricks were played, you surely must be able to prove them. Like every man in authority, I had my enemies. Some indeed showed the most heartfelt desire to *serve* me. I never cried for quarter from any man under the sun; "Defiance and contempt" was my motto when assailed, yet the most virulent of those enemies never attempted to charge me with one single instance of the slightest partiality. I only got acquainted with the Rev. Doctor in 1825. I believe I had only seen him once or twice before. Our sentiments were certainly not in unison. He had a short time previously brought very serious charges against me before the Commissioners of Inquiry; yet, though not acting *with him*, what had my system been with reference to the Hottentots? Had I not begun my magistracy *ten years before that* by showing that I would push matters to extremes if necessary to ensure the execution of the laws, in a case which had the most serious results? Did I not exert myself to the utmost to let the Hottentots enjoy the full benefit of Lord Caledon's law; which, in spite of the attempts to cast obloquy upon it, I maintain was as great a step in 1809 as the 50th Ordinance was in 1828, and afforded one of the many proofs that Colonel Bird, who had the principal hand in it, knew the Colony, and was fit for his place? Can one single case be stated in which a Hottentot, with my knowledge, was forced to enter into contract, if he could live without? Did not the Commissioners of Inquiry find that I had not availed myself of the *unfortunate* law of 1812, giving power to apprentice Hottentot children, but that, on the contrary, I had invariably resisted it, except in cases of orphans, or where the parents wished it, or had abandoned the children? Did I not introduce a check upon Field Cornets' contracts by preventing them from being made

for a longer period than a year, though abused for this "stretch of power?" I ask these questions boldly, they are comprehensive, and some of my kind friends may take the trouble to search for a flaw and put me out of conceit. But I do not mean to claim any credit for thus doing merely my duty. I only state these facts as proofs that, as I have before said, the Hottentot cause might have been gained by proper management, without all the clamour, irritations and party spirit which kept us so long in hot water; for I appeal to friend and foe whether, in spite of the above line of conduct, I was the most unpopular Landdrost in the Colony. The truth is that in every one of those proceedings I was most cordially supported by all the Heemraaden (all native farmers) and most of the Field Cornets, and I can hardly recollect an instance where I had an opportunity of entering into discussion with the inhabitants, that I did not find them open to conviction, that the system of our laws was unjust and cruel towards the Hottentots.

Now, in all this, Dr. Philip could have no hand. I dare say he himself believed me in open opposition, if not hostility, to him all the while. But, if my "patriotism" could only be shown by joining in the hue and cry against a man who happened to be more zealous and enthusiastic than myself, and because there were points of difference between us, I must submit to pass for no patriot at all.

* * * * *

In short, if I continue to have anything to do with the public administration, I see no cause to deviate from what my conduct has hitherto been. Injustice to whites—English or Dutch—to blacks, Kaffir, Hottentot or Bushman, I will still consider injustice and deal with it accordingly. To see the white man persecuted and

libelled because it has pleased Providence that he should be a slave-holder or, because he defends his life, family, and property against thieves, robbers, and murderers, when the Government cannot or will not do so—is to me as cruel and abominable as the tearing asunder of man and wife, mother and babe, for filthy lucre's sake, or the extermination of tribes, the plundering of nations ; a country kept in a ferment, and the weak driven to desperation and war, merely to afford some here the glory of conquering peace ; to create patronage for some corrupt great, or to advance or aggrandize some sycophant or favourite.

If these principles can satisfy the Government, the missionaries, or my fellow-colonists of either class, I will be proud to serve them. If not, I can only say that I can dispense with their approbation, however much I value it ; I can dispense with office, however poor and ambitious I may be, but I cannot possibly dispense with peace of mind.

After all I do not fear that much difference would be found between any of those parties and myself, if we could but understand each other for ever. On the point I have first alluded to, it is most unjust to charge the colonists *en masse* as cut-throats, and as being averse to the amelioration of, and good understanding with, the aboriginal tribes. It is the fashion to associate everything that is barbarous, brutal and cruel with the idea "African-Boer." If my object had been to gain popularity with any one set of men, I would have adopted a more partial course than I did, but as I do not mean to cajole either friend or foe, I neither hesitate to say that if a wise and efficient system had been adopted, so in this respect (as I have formerly said on the slave and Hottentot questions)—the majority of Colonists, English

and Dutch, would have given that their most cordial co-operation. I never found them, in the aggregate, hostile to any plan which would ensure *protection* to themselves, as well as their black neighbours. There is but a small section interested in the disturbances on the Frontier, and the acquisition of the cattle of the natives, but mismanagement makes the good suffer with the bad, and embitters the feelings of all. A thousand times have such men as Van Wyk, Van der Walt, Pretorius, Oberholzen, Joubert and others (whom before some of you it is hardly safe to call human) spoken to me with the utmost warmth and sympathy of the danger and injustice of taking the property of the Border tribes, and the dreadful alternative to which our wavering policy occasionally drove us. I have often found more humane feeling and good sense in these men and the like, than I am disposed to give some of their defamers credit for ; and I have never known an instance when the people from the inner parts have been dragged from their homes and avocations to assist in the protection of the Frontier, that every man who could reason on the subject did not curse the iniquities by which so much inconvenience, loss, and suffering were brought on themselves and the country. But how can they help their situations? Then where lies the blame? Is it not your system which compels them to be butchers to-day, and would have them submit to be butchered without resistance to-morrow? I am sick of the business. God grant that this were the last line I ever have to write about it.

* * * * *

As for our late Governor, nothing I can say can add to or detract from the character he has established in the world ; still, I have no hesitation here to repeat what I expressed with reference to him and his, almost

the last moments I spent at the Cape. His approaching departure being discussed, I said, "I believe him one of the most honourable, upright and just meaning men in existence. Her ladyship is an invaluable treasure to this Colony by the example which she gives of everything that is virtuous and benevolent in public and domestic life. Nay, the children afford a specimen, worthy of imitation, of what a great and respectable man's family ought to be, and even the men of his personal staff have acquired general respect. The departure of this circle therefore will be an incalculable loss to this community, and their worst enemies will pray that in those points their successors may resemble them." In this there was not a word of exaggeration. Every soul with the slightest pretensions to common decency will admit its truth to the letter, yet nothing can be more lamentably certain than that, whether it was that the purity of his own intentions prevented him from being on his guard against others, or whether he was shackled with instructions beyond those the world knew—he did not appear proof against the intrigues and manœuvres which surround every Colonial Government, indeed every Government; and though I shall ever bear a grateful recollection of his warm expressions of regard, which I knew to be sincere as he is incapable of guile, I stood aloof because a system of favouritism, and its natural progeny injustice, appeared to me to prevail, and led to what I could not approve of. Smile whilst the worm gnaws within, I cannot. Thank God, however, I never lent myself either by writing, printing, word or action, to anything that could annoy him. It is to be hoped that all those he considered his friends acted the same part.

There is another man of whom I wish to speak in

terms of respect, from whom, even in his most confidential moments, I never heard any but the most honourable and liberal sentiments ; and who, if he had had the firmness to follow the dictates of his own reason, would have been admirably qualified for his post, but being once bound hands and feet in the trammels of a desperate gang who had marked out for their grasp, and that of their dependents, everything out of which those could be jostled who could not raise a voice on this side of the water, he could no longer command confidence from me. I am not courtier enough to show what I do not feel, and whilst I admit the worth of these two men, I cannot deny that some of their official acts were pregnant with mischief, and chagrined many besides myself who would otherwise have been happy to have been numbered among their supporters. That the latter considered my situation as clashing with his own was not unnatural, but that I should take it kindly to have my prospects blasted by being turned out of office, or, what is the same thing, to have that office placed upon a footing so that no man who had the slightest respect for himself could hold it, was not much more natural. I was placed in charge of the Eastern Division of the Colony, under the orders of the Governor. The situation was, from motives of economy, substituted for that of Lieutenant-Governor, which had been recommended by the Commissioners of Enquiry. If I were unfit for the office I ought not to have been appointed, or removed as soon as the deficiency showed itself ; but this charge has never been made, much less proved. I was expressly appointed a member of Council (mark this) *because I was Commissioner-General, and because my duties as such would qualify me particularly to give the necessary information when I could occasionally take my seat at the Council Board.*

This was General Bourke's arrangement, who was generally presumed to understand the matter, and it was at once and fully approved of in Downing Street. Moreover the business of the Eastern Division continued to be carried on direct between the Colonial Office and every branch of my department, by private as well as official correspondence, without my knowing anything at all about the matter except now and then when it was deemed convenient to have my opinion or assistance, either from unavoidable necessity to keep up appearance, or because the business would have been unpleasant for somebody else. I might gallop from one end of the country to the other, enter into the paltry detail of locating Boers and Hottentots, go and get an old ditch cleaned out at Cradock, get compensation for doing it well, or inquire into some alleged delinquency of a functionary, but Commissioner-General I was not allowed to be ;—the regulating of the Frontier policy, the maintenance of peace with the native tribes, and the prevention of mutual plunder and murder which were the main objects of my appointment, were taken out of my hands, as well as the general superintendence of the Eastern Division, and even the instructions drawn up by the Colonial Government, though not at all in accordance with those of the Secretary of State, became a dead letter. In short I might gallop away and continue to be "the Flying Dutchman" (as I was significantly called) and draw my salary as long as I liked, but the Government Secretary should be Commissioner-General, and I might be his occasional agent if I pleased. After several friendly remonstrances and equally friendly promises of a change, matters remained in *statu quo* ; in fact they got worse, for latterly I knew nothing about my department except through the newspapers and common

rumour and when the matter was stale. Thus seeing clearly that the situation was not relished in some quarter or other, and not wishing to quarrel with two men for whom I felt personally the most unqualified esteem, I recommended the abolition of the Commissioner-Generalship as a duty to the public and offered to retire unconditionally. From this the Governor's generous soul shrunk at once. He would not listen to it, and called it the most cruel injustice to myself and those dependent upon me. The kindness he evinced on the occasion made a deep impression upon me, but, strange to say, the alternative of enabling me to continue in office honestly by placing me in the situation by which I might do my duty, he would not adopt, or was not allowed to adopt.

In the meantime I had attended council whenever I visited the Metropolis, and, as I believe, there had done my duty conscientiously. The opinions there given, of course, I cannot refer to, as the members were under oath of secrecy. However, towards the close of 1831, a despatch was received stating that my duties and constant attendance in the frontier districts were deemed of such importance, *that I must resign my seat in council*, though only three years before it was understood (as is perfectly self-evident) that the more effective my duties as Commissioner-General should be, the more useful I could be in Council, and though every man of common sense must see that my permanent residence in the Eastern Division could enhance the utility of, but could not possibly be of detriment to, my occasional (however rare) presence at the Board. Now, though I never hesitated to declare that the "precious boon," the Cape Council, appeared to me the greatest insult that could have been inflicted upon the common sense of any

community *as a step towards reform*, and often, after seeing what it was, wished myself safely out of it, still, to be unceremoniously turned out upon the very plea for which I had been put in, would no doubt by the public (who believe despatches written before dinner at least) be looked upon as something very suspicious, and involve a sort of disgrace.

The Governor spoke to me in the most flattering terms on the occasion, refused to act upon the order, though I requested leave at once to vacate my seat, he sent a remonstrance home, and insisted on my attending Council as before. Now if I had, even in the slightest degree, acted factiously or captiously, or done anything but what a man of honour was bound by his oath and principles to do, here was an opportunity for the Governor, who differed with me on several points, to get rid of me in the only place where I was independent and could be troublesome. But, no, I had under him, as under all his predecessors (of whom one was for a long time my most inveterate foe, yet obliged to admit this), done my duty. He knew that my father had served the Colony honestly for a quarter of a century, and fallen in that service; he knew that I had tried during as long a period to follow the example, and he was loath to countenance an act of caprice which might even have the appearance of a slur.

However, in Downing Street my doom was fixed. There my opinions were either not orthodox, or it had been discovered, in direct opposition to the earlier theory, that the more I knew about my province or the neighbouring tribes, the less fit would I be to advise about these matters. An order was sent out insisting on my resigning my seat forthwith, which I did in terms becoming both to the Government and myself. Who

cares one straw for the individual? But the public may have an interest in gleaning the independent situation of a member of His Majesty's Legislative and Executive in a Colony; his efficiency as a check upon despotism, his stability as a step in this "first ladder of Colonial reform." But of this, more anon.

Obstinacy indeed! Show me the man with real English feelings who would have put up with all this half as long as I did. In 1828 I am appointed a member of Council, "*because I am Commissioner-General.*" In 1831, I am *turned out* of council, "*because I am Commissioner-General,*" and all the while I am not allowed to be Commissioner-General at all. But the most childish part of the affair was, that though the reason *given* for this turn out was *because my duties demanded my presence in the Eastern Division*, I was in reality called upon to resign, *because I was coming to this country* (you laugh, but stay); and though I was not allowed to have any duties, I had hardly turned my back upon the Colony before an Officer was appointed *to act for me!*

Having tendered his resignation as Commissioner-General, he was detained from week to week, waiting impatiently for the final decision of the Government, and full of fears for the future welfare of his family, as the following letter will show :—

London, November 23, 1833.

Now here you have a month elapsed since I wrote to the Secretary of State, and no reply. What in God's name can I, or my fathers before me, have done to merit this? I have asked them nothing more than to decide whether their own orders, with reference to the duties of the Commissioner-General, shall be complied with, or whether that situation shall be a sinecure, in which case

I have declined to be the tenant. I have begged of them, if they require time for consideration and inquiry, to let me in the meantime get out of this climate and this expensive place, where living is beyond my means. I have told them that my family has been left in a strange land; that I am, of course, anxious to join them, and that my health is very indifferent. I have been most respectful to them in every word and gesture; the most humble of the humble, in as far as my duty to my species would allow. I have asked no favour. I have stated myself ready to meet the most scrupulous investigation if any charge or any suspicion of any description whatever should exist against me; yet not so much notice is bestowed on my case as the meanest applicant in the kingdom, as the convicted felon, would have an undeniable title to demand from men who are so abundantly overpaid for that which is required of them as their duty, not as an act of grace. If I am to be at my post when my leave expires, why not warn me so that I may bring over my family? If on the contrary they intend me to continue in a situation in which no man of character can remain, why not tell me their decision and send me about my business.

It would be a piece of shameful duplicity on my part were I to deny that the mental agony under which I labour in this state of suspense (separated from those dear to me, not knowing how soon they may be reduced to beggary, myself here a stranger "solitary in the midst of millions,") is so intense that my enemies, if they were aware of it, might consider their triumph complete.

* * * * *

At last the final answer is given, the suspense is over, and he is able to write as follows:—

London, November 26, 1833.

Thank God I can inform you that I will sail for Ostend next Saturday. I am fairly quit of the Colony for a long time at least. I called at the Colonial Office this morning, and had a conversation with Mr. Kay, which I took down verbatim the moment I came home, and give it you as follows :

"I have taken the liberty to call to beg of you if possible to expedite Mr. Stanley's reply to my representations with respect to my office."

Mr. K. "Are you going back to the Cape?" "No, not if my situation continues upon its present footing."

Mr. K. "Mr. Stanley has not yet told me what reply to make, but I can inform you in the meantime that he has decided upon abolishing your situation, as from what you say it appears to be of no use, and to render it efficient it would be necessary to give you a much higher salary and greater powers. This the finances of the Colony do not admit of, for it will be necessary, as it is, to make considerable reductions."

Myself. "Upon the present footing I must repeat that the situation is useless and cannot be 'kept up.'"

Mr. K. "You must clearly understand, however, that there is no other reason for your exertions not having of late been more fully called into action. Dismiss from your mind every suspicion of any unfavourable impression, with reference to yourself, existing in this department."

Myself. "This relieves my mind very much. I assure you there are many men in this country with and under whom I have served, and I can appeal to all."

Mr. K. "You may depend upon it Mr. Stanley would be extremely sorry if he were to think that you supposed that anything had reached this department except what is highly favourable. What do you wish for yourself?"

Myself. "If I may presume to give an opinion, I should say that I might be allowed to retire until Government can give me an appointment equivalent to that which I have had and in which I can be efficient."

Mr. K. "Yes, but you must have a retirement allowance. What is the nature of your services?"

Myself. "I became clerk to the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet in October 1808, but drew no salary before 1809. In 1811 I got an ensigncy in the Cape Corps. Joined in January of that year, but was gazetted a few months later. In July 1812 I became deputy Landdrost, and in May 1815, Landdrost, which I remained till 1827, when I obtained my present situation."

Mr. K. "Sir B. D'Urban has been ordered to make provision for you."

Myself. "My principal object is to know whether I am to understand that I am to be called upon to serve again when a proper opportunity offers for me to be of use."

Mr. K. "Certainly. I did *not* exactly hear Mr. Stanley say so, but I know it is his wish, and I am sure it is mine, to employ those of whom we have such favourable accounts; and, indeed, we are obliged from economy to do so. If you leave England, therefore, you must let us know where you are."

I here thanked Mr. Kay, and came away the happiest man living. I did not ask him what his "retirement provision" was to be, nor did he say. I am more pleased with the admission that my conduct stands unimpeached than with any favour or provision they can bestow. They are bold fellows if they add to the pension list just now, I think! And what reflections does not the above conversation suggest? Why, in the name of good nature, could not they communicate their decisions at once, since there is to be no inquiry and everything is to be

quietly hushed up? What anxiety of mind and what a sum of money could they not have spared me and mine! What has the service gained by this petty tyranny—this vexatious torture? I might long since have been ten degrees farther south, snugly enjoying the consolation of my family.

* * * * *

Having determined to proceed to the Cape to dispose of his property there, expecting to reside permanently in Stockholm, he reached London early in August 1835, and found that he was again required to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, as appears from the following letter.

London, August 3, 1835.

I reached this last Monday, and expected ere this to have been on my way to the Cape. Immediately on my arrival I applied to Borradaile for a passage, but heard from him that a summons had been sent to Stockholm, for me to appear before the Committee of the House of Commons; I called on Mr. Kay and he says the same thing. This unhinges my arrangements altogether, as I am anxious to go and dispose of my property as soon as possible if there be anything left after the scramble. I left Mrs. S. in Sweden, where we have made up our minds to settle. We both like the the country and the people very much. We have no particular account of the Kaffir war, but we saw enough from the extracts in the London papers to be satisfied that there is no prospect of peace on the Frontier as long as war continues so profitable a game. My property is too near the scene of glory to afford a peaceable retreat. In Cape Town I have no occupation. As for the Seat in Council, the joke is too good. I neither wish to be heard by the committee nor to

avoid them. Perfect indifference has succeeded loathsome disgust. If they will send to Downing Street they will find everything that I have to say on record, and if they call me before them I shall just refer them to those records, and have done with the matter. The whole affair will terminate in the consummation of what was intended—a strong *Hottentot Regiment*, and a *Military Lieutenant-Governor*. I cannot take my passage before I know whether and how long I shall be detained. As soon as the matter is decided I shall let you know, and be glad to take your Commissions.

* * * * *

London, August 31, 1835.

Many thanks for the sentiments so kindly expressed in your note, and still more for those verbally expressed before so respectable an assembly. It is not therefore from ingratitude or indifference that I decline complying with your suggestion. I have no business in the Colonial Office, and nothing to ask of the Secretary of State. He does not know me, nor I him, and I do not see that I can do any good by calling. On the contrary, I should only give rise to a suspicion that I am anxious to resume my office. This no consideration on earth will induce me to do as long as the Governor and the Colonial Secretary can alternately supersede me or make a cat's-paw or football of me at pleasure. Besides, my mind has been sufficiently harassed for the public, and much have I got for it. I can live quietly and independently in Sweden, and look with calm contempt upon all the plots and tricks which are performing. Nor have I the same confidence which you have in the Reformers. Spring Rice has shown by the manner in which he disposed of the Treasurership at the Cape, "*that the reign of Patronage, favouritism, and jobbery has ceased for ever*," meant

nothing else than that the power of misrule has changed hands. As for the hypocritical subterfuge that, "Stoll, Buissinne, Bresler and others, have proved that the Colonists could not be trusted," I would only ask whether Theodore Hook and many like him have proved that every Englishman is a cheat and scoundrel. An honest Government would feel that it is its sacred duty, the greater the proportion of vice in a community, the more markedly to cherish the little remnant of virtue. If ninety-nine Colonists had proved themselves rogues the support of the hundredth became a matter of so much greater necessity and duty; and the fewer the instances of merit the easier the task of doing justice, and the more unpardonable, the more corrupt, the violation of that duty. But, tell me, was it the roguery of the *Colonists* that drove the Minister to the West of Ireland to look for a gentleman who had never seen a day's public service, or was it his own private electioneering interest? Was there no Englishman whose pension might, and ought to, have been saved to the Cape Treasury. I speak not for myself, my sentiments I have already given, but it harrows up my soul to think how some of the Colonists have been treated. I dare not continue this subject. Let us hear no more of "Reformers."

If I must be here by the first of March, I cannot go to the Cape; that is clear. To settle my affairs I must, at least, be three months in the Colony. But I cannot wait here all the while. I left my wife in such circumstances that only the necessity of saving something out of the clutches of the belligerents could justify the separation. I shall, however, delay my departure to Stockholm till the beginning of October, and, in the meantime, make a tour through Scotland or Ireland. My opponents will thus have ample time to act. I

shall keep you advised of my movements, and can come over as soon as self-defence renders my presence necessary. Also, I can get from Leith to Gotheborg, or from Hull to Hamburg. It is possible if I proceed to the Cape after I have done with the Committee, that I shall leave Mrs. S. in Paris, as she is anxious to see it. I fear, however, that the weather will not allow her to travel in February.

That my evidence will make me a number of enemies is no more than I expect, but they must be a precious pack of rascals, whose friendship must indeed be worth counting, if they expect me to deceive the Committee in order to serve their views. I do not know better myself than they do how I appreciate their curses or their blessings. I am neither glad nor sorry for having been thus dragged forward. Not *glad*, because I expect nothing good for that devoted, that doomed Colony. It will continue to be ruled as it has been. Not sorry, because I care not one straw for the frown or smile of any power or faction. I want no favour and have nothing to fear. I have done my duty.

The Committee's enquiries on the 21st about certificates as to my conduct in office surprised me as much as they did you. Mr. Lushington assured me that they were by no means meant to reflect upon me. Major Dundas, though differing with me in opinion, said that he would bring me a letter of Colonel Graham's in my favour. Perhaps he did not find it, or perhaps he saw that I was sufficiently well provided. I gave the Committee such testimonials as I could find among my papers. They seemed tolerably satisfied. I lately said to my wife, "Thank God, I have nothing more to do with these Cape and Kaffir affairs." I was calculating without my host, it appears, for during the whole of this

month I have hardly heard, talked, or dreamt of anything but Kaffirs, Bushmen, Boers, Settlers, Commandoes, Governors, Secretaries, Commandants, &c., all equally agreeable subjects.

I see no harm in Philip, Reed, and Fairbairn coming over. They may disapprove of some of my acts, and abuse me accordingly, but I defy them to charge me with one single intentional act of oppression. At least, if the Committee do its duty, I shall have the means of defence. Dr. P. informed the Commissioners that I was in the habit of destroying the old Bushmen in order to dispose of their children. If he believed this and thought he could prove it, he was perfectly right to make the accusation. If not, God forgive him. I cannot forget his hostility ; but will never lend myself to persecute him. More of this anon.

I was in hopes that the Committee would have been satisfied with a mere reference to the official documents, but they seemed determined to squeeze the very marrow out of me, and my memory, in the absence of records, has been dreadfully put to the stretch.

CHAPTER XXI.

1834-1836.

1835. Residence in Stockholm—Death of Stoll—Summoned to London—Evidence before Parliamentary Committee—Returns to Stockholm—Recalled to London—Quits Stockholm with Family—Reaches London, January 1836—Interviews with Lord Glenelg, &c.—Letter to Lord Glenelg—Full Statement of Views—Impolicy of proclaiming Kaffirs British Subjects—Upholding Chiefs—Tambookies—Provision for Defence of Colony—Welfare of Kaffirs—Mode of dealing with Kaffirs—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Voyage in the *Lord W. Bentinck*—Small-pox—Quarantine—Reception by Sir B. D'Urban—Governor wishes to introduce new System—Lieutenant-Governor declines pending instructions—Supreme Court on Martial Law—Martial Law abolished—Condemnation of D'Urban system by Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith—Ordered by Governor to introduce Glenelg system—Addresses—Graham's Town Address and Reply—Conflict with Governor—Popularity of Governor—Hostility of War Party—Conspiracy—Boers incited against Lieutenant-Governor—Welcomed *en route* to Graham's Town—Causes of Boer Exodus.

I HAD not long set myself down in Stockholm, when my friends from Cape Town and London wrote to me that Mr. Stoll was dead, urging me in the warmest terms to apply for the office which he had vacated, and which they believed for several, but especially for economical, reasons the Government would not venture to refuse. I replied that not even the threat of the stoppage of my pension and half-pay should draw me out of retirement, because I could not see what good I could do at the Cape under existing circumstances. I did not, however, run any risk, for the vacancy was half filled up before the breath was fairly out of Mr. Stoll. I therefore thought I might consider myself emancipated from

office for life ; but whilst travelling through Russia, or soon after my return to Stockholm, I saw by the papers that a Kaffir war had broken out, and a summons was transmitted to me requiring my attendance before a Committee of the House of Commons.

I went, of course, leaving my family among strangers ; and certainly no volunteer in an investigation which, whatever ultimate good it might do, would open the door to endless crimination and recrimination. A despicable clique had the audacity to expect me to perjure myself by deceiving the representatives of the British nation, in order to gain for myself from the noisy fraternity the glorious title of "Colonial Patriot," and to deprecate the wrath of their calumnious press, whereby they had the folly to believe that they were cowing half the world, whilst I ever looked upon that wrath as the surest indication of some worth in their intended victims. They were disappointed, of course. I refused to falsify facts, though a formidable array was sent to beard me.

Having performed this most disagreeable duty without having set one foot in Downing Street or seen a single member of the Government, except one or two perhaps who were members of the Committee, but between whom and myself not one single word passed beyond that Committee, I returned to Stockholm, my intended home for life ; and there I was, without the remotest doubt that my public life was at an end, when on the 4th December, 1835, I received a letter from the Colonial Minister, Lord Glenelg, whom I had never seen, or directly or indirectly communicated with, desiring my return to London, without the remotest hint as to his Lordship's motives. My pecuniary means were by this time pretty well ebbd, and I saw no chance of keeping up a decent establishment for my family in the Northern

capital whilst I was travelling backwards and forwards. I therefore was compelled to pack up my wife, a child of three years old and one of six weeks old, a female Cape servant, and myself in bear-skins in the middle of winter.

We left Stockholm on the 11th December, and travelled in defiance of snow and frost through Denmark, Schleswick-Holstein, Hamburg, Hanover, and Holland, where I left my family, and I reached London the first week in January. I had several interviews with Lord Glenelg before he informed me of his wish that I should take upon myself, as Lieutenant-Governor, to carry out his views with reference to the eastern districts and borders of the Cape Colony. Of these views I fully approved. They were founded on justice and sound policy. I thought it rather late to begin to act upon such principles, when mutual provocations and retaliations had already so much damaged the prestige of British equity and benevolence, and when some of our failures and their results had so much weakened the fear of our power and the respect for our wisdom, which had long influenced the minds of our barbarian neighbours. But some of my friends, whose opinions I could not disregard, declared me in honour and duty bound to avail myself of an opportunity of accomplishing a task for which I believed myself peculiarly adapted.

Deference to these men, backed as I must confess by ambition and pride, if not by a higher motive, as I trust, made me readily consent to become the instrument of one of the most upright, benevolent statesmen that has ever been connected with the Colonies. He was to me a perfect stranger, as he has been ever since his official connection with me ceased. When I reached London, before I had ever seen or communicated with Lord

Glenelg, the celebrated letter to the Governor of the Cape, disapproving of his proceedings, was long gone, so that I could by no possibility have influenced its contents. The original was shown to me, together with numerous other papers. The Under-Secretary, Mr. Stephen, had altered his tone and bearing, and we became very friendly and confidential. My intercourse with the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Sir G. Grey, and the Chief Clerk, Mr. P. Smith, was equally agreeable ; but a reference to my official correspondence is absolutely necessary in order to appreciate this crisis of the Colonial history.

From among the numerous important despatches to which reference is here made, the following has been selected as giving as full a view of the position of affairs as can be necessary to enable the reader in some degree to appreciate the difficulties with which the Lieutenant-Governor was to be immediately burdened. It is addressed to Lord Glenelg, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and is dated

“London, January 7, 1836.

“MY LORD,—In compliance with your Lordship’s desire as expressed in the interview with which I was honoured on Monday last, I used every exertion to obtain the best possible information relative to the present state of the Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and have been favoured with the perusal of several newspapers, in which I have found and read, among other matters, the Treaty of Peace granted by His Excellency the Governor of the said Colony, to several tribes of Kaffirs, as contained in the supplement of the Grahamstown Journal dated 24th September last, to which treaty you were pleased to direct my earnest attention, condescending at the same time to require my sentiments thereon. If I have delayed in communicating to your Lordship

the result of my deliberations longer than may have appeared necessary, I trust your Lordship will attribute such delay to the impression I had of the importance of the subject, the anxiety I felt not, by precipitation at least, to prove myself unworthy of the weight you had been pleased to attach to my opinion and the respect I felt for the character borne by the high Officer whose measure is under consideration, and whose acts have given such general satisfaction in the Colony placed under his charge.

“Upon this assurance, I feel confident that your Lordship will do me the justice to believe that it is with sincere regret, that after the most anxious and painful review of the question in all its bearings, I have not been able to come to the conclusion, that the Treaty granted, as above stated, will be attended with those beneficial results which His Excellency had in contemplation.

“In a letter, which I had the honour of addressing to your Department on the 5th November 1834, in reply to certain queries put to me by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Spring Rice, I took occasion to propose a plan for the gradual incorporation with the Colony of certain hordes, as therein specified ; which plan, though less matured, was not dissimilar in principles from that which the said Governor has adopted ; but having only in view such communities as were wandering, and unsettled, already in many ways dependent upon or closely allied with us, I specially excepted ‘those nations,’ who can control and protect themselves. It must therefore appear evident to your Lordship that I am by no means opposed to the principle of incorporation, where the people to be disposed of cannot by any other means be rendered harmless to us and acquire the means of their own improvement, whilst I am equally anxious to

avoid rendering our own system of administration more complicated and expensive by conquest, or the interference with the internal affairs of 'nations or tribes,' who are so far organised and consolidated as to require only our example and justice, our commerce, and the free and friendly communication of those improvements which they would gradually become prepared to cultivate, in order to advance in the path of civilisation and peace, as rapidly as under our dominion.

"Between these two classes of the neighbours of our Frontier, I consider it indispensable to discriminate in any measure of incorporation which it may be deemed advisable to resort to, and that I consider the Kaffirs beyond the Colonial Boundary as belonging to the latter class, my several communications with Government will plainly show; and I candidly confess that I have not been able to glean anything from the late occurrences, or even the circumstances under which the chiefs themselves volunteered to become our fellow-subjects, which has placed them before me in a different light: whilst on the contrary these very circumstances appear to me to render the difficulties more insuperable, and the acceptance of the proffered allegiance not so much an act of grace, as an advantage we consider it safe to take of the distress of the intended new brethren.

"The submission of this latter people therefore cannot be sincere. Long-continued feuds, crowned at last by unexampled slaughter, cannot so easily be forgiven and forgotten among civilised Christian nations. What then can we expect from the barbarian, one of the principal features of whose character is the thirst of revenge? They are again to occupy the territory from which they were expelled. Against *them* it was that we were supposed to require the Key as a more tenable boundary, but they

will now be within that boundary, which we will nevertheless have to protect ; for they, as British subjects, will be entitled to our protection. They will have free access to the bushy parts of the Keiskamma ; it was to keep *them* out of these jungles that a new boundary was established. Their readmission into this territory I most fully approve of ; it was unavoidable, for the only alternative was their extermination, either by us, or by other tribes upon which they would be forced to obtrude themselves ; but I fear that by admitting them as British subjects we make for ourselves *two* boundary lines instead of *one* to protect : in the first place, that of the Key as above shown, and secondly, the old one ; for it is not in the nature of things that the Kaffirs, after all that has now taken place, can be trusted so near the Colonists, if these be unprotected ; and with what feelings will they look on the Fingoes, living on lands which it must be recollected the Kaffirs cannot yet be made to consider otherwise than theirs.

“A strong line of military posts will consequently be indispensable here on the old line for a long time to come, as well as intermediate ones in the newly-ceded territory, to connect these with those on the front or new line. This will require a strong force and great expense. Whether the Government is prepared to supply these, it is not for me to say, but without them I doubt whether the Kaffirs in their present humour will be able to resist the temptation of a favourable opportunity to restore themselves to independence, and make us pay dearly for their temporary submission. We have, in that case, not an enemy, but traitors and rebels to deal with, and our relations are thus become more complicated, and greater severity a duty.

“Hitherto we have found it impossible to prevent

occasional aggressions on the part of some of the Colonists against the native tribes, and we now make ourselves responsible for the outrages of a much more lawless set of men ; for when they are our subjects we will have to check and redress the injuries they inflict on the tribes beyond ; and this once known to the sufferers, the Government would be harassed with endless complaints, and the causes of dissension will increase in an incalculable ratio. So also, though we found our means inadequate to our own defence, we take upon ourselves nevertheless the quarrels of a nation which may be involved in many disputes with their brethren (the Kaffirs beyond the Key), and other tribes, in which disputes we can have no possible interest ; but to come to a still more important consideration, I confess I do not see how the introduction of the English laws among the Kaffirs in the manner proposed in the Treaty is at all practicable. The prejudices of a nation, however absurd they may appear, are not easily removed or disregarded ; violent opposition often strengthens them, and our magistrates and judges might in the strict performance of their duty raise questions, or provoke acts of resistance, which the executive would be much at a loss how to deal with.

“ I think, moreover, that every measure tending to lower the importance of the Chiefs is calculated to weaken the hold we have on the people, as it is by means of these Chiefs we will soonest succeed to secure peace and promote civilisation. The supersession of their authority by that of our magistrates, however desirable in many respects, will constantly remind them of their fall from independent power, and keep secretly smothering in their bosoms, and that of their adherents, a discontent which cannot fail to break forth with destructive violence

as soon as it gets vent. I am aware that it is provided that the Chiefs themselves may be appointed magistrates ; but the present generation of Kaffir Chiefs cannot administer English law ; and if they could, it appears to me they can serve our purpose and their own country better as Chiefs, in a manner I hope to be able to show in the sequel.

“ I consider it also not quite unnecessary to call your Lordship’s attention to the circumstance that, if I am well informed as to the tract of country newly annexed to the Colony, and if the same has been correctly laid down in the maps of which I have had inspection, it embraces a portion of territory which could not be conquered from the Kaffirs, never having been claimed by or considered as belonging to them, and that its seizure may commit us with the Tambookies, with whom we have never been at war ; nor can the allegiance of these members of the latter tribe, who either permanently or occasionally occupy the tract in question, be transferred to His Majesty by any of the Chiefs with whom our Governor has treated, as they are totally independent of them.

“ Having thus stated the objections and difficulties which appear to me to stand in the way of the execution of the said treaty I proceed to comply with your Lordship’s further commands by humbly submitting a plan which I consider it advisable to adopt in the present emergency. In doing so I must premise that my views are founded upon the (perhaps unpopular) impression that the late attacks of the Kaffirs, though they have caused me more painful reflections than it is necessary to trouble your Lordship with, have not been altogether unprovoked.

“ My earlier correspondence with your department

shows my feelings on this subject. Consequently, not only sound policy but justice forbids that we should crush the prostrate enemy. I think, therefore, that our objects ought to be these. In the first place, and above all, the safety of the Colony against future inroads, and the security of His Majesty's subjects in the same. Secondly, the improvement of the Kaffir nation, and its maintenance as an independent ally. To obtain these points we must now for some time keep up an efficient military force, and strengthen our Frontier, which I cannot recommend to be advanced beyond the Keiskamma permanently.

"In connection with this as dense a population as possible ought to be settled in villages in the territory between the said boundary, and the Kat and Fish Rivers, upon the same principle as the new Hottentot settlements, the advantages of which were fully demonstrated during the late contest, modified according to circumstances; and the people in the ceded Territory west of the Kat River ought to be made to comply with the conditions upon which they accepted their grants, or relinquish them. The *burgher force* ought to be placed under strict regulations, and its assembling and operations narrowly defined or controlled, so as to keep it efficient for *defence* and prevent uncalled-for *offence*.

"The Kaffirs living between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, who have behaved so well during the late war, ought to have that territory granted to them on terms (the details of which may safely be left to the Governor) having for their object the two desiderata above stated: the safety of the Colony, and the welfare of the grantees. Such treatment of these people will afford a glorious example to their countrymen beyond the boundary.

"The Fingoes I could wish safe a couple of hundred

miles farther away westward from the reach of the Kaffirs, to whom they will long be a source of heart-burning ; but as they are now placed there, I think that, unless the Governor has already fixed their allotments, their villages may be intermixed with those above proposed to be established ; a special agreement may be entered into with the Kaffir Chiefs, who shall return to reside near our borders. Some of the points contained in the Governor's Treaty may be included in the agreement.

“The reprisal system must be finally put a stop to. The Colonists must be allowed to protect their property and lives against plunderers and murderers, even if it be necessary to shoot the assailants ; this in the actual state of things cannot be prevented. The vacillating and contradictory doctrine which has been held forth on this point, rushing from one extreme to another, has been one of the main causes of our misfortunes. For some time to come it will even be dangerous to allow the Kaffirs free access to the Colony, and where they are found armed they can be no other than enemies, and dealt with accordingly. But the inhabitants living near the Frontier come there knowing that they have the Kaffirs in their neighbourhood. Government cannot prevent cattle being kept, but the party keeping them must guard them, and if they be stolen, the thief must be found out if possible, and punished according to law ; but no risk of a bloody war ought to be incurred for every cow which strays, or is destroyed by wild beasts, or may even be stolen.

“No armed person or force ought to be allowed, except under peculiar clearly-defined circumstances, to enter Kaffirland ; and private individuals, including traders, even unarmed, ought only to be allowed to do so upon terms to be agreed upon between the Governor, or other

competent authority, and the Kaffir Chiefs. If then, in spite of our care we be overpowered and plundered or otherwise injured, and can *prove* the Kaffirs the aggressors, if the Chiefs then refuse redress and satisfaction, there may be just cause for the Government regularly to go to war ; but to give every man who has a real or pretended grievance a military force to go and avenge his own cause, is enough to account for everything that has occurred.

“To the Kaffir Chiefs included in the Treaty the Supreme Government might, without even disapproving what the Governor has done, hold the following language :—‘You have submitted to our dominion and acknowledged our supremacy over this territory, but our object is not conquest, or your subjection ; we want peace for ourselves, and with that we want you to continue your authority and be great men, and your people prosperous and happy. You have now seen what is to be got by war. You may murder some of us, but you may lose your rank, and perhaps your lives, and this beautiful country may be enjoyed by your worst enemies whilst you wander homeless like the Bushmen. Our Gracious King and ourselves wish not these things. His Majesty offers you all this back again, and restores you to your full independence, provided you consent to such conditions as will secure our peace, as well as your own. In order that you act not under the influence of your subdued condition, and grant hastily and rashly what you may repent of, let there be a full meeting of all the Councillors and other men, in whom you have confidence. Call in even, if you please, the assistance of such men among the whites (missionaries or others), whom you consider your friends to assist you, and let us discuss and settle the compact deliberately. You will find us reasonable, conciliatory, and liberal in our stipulations. You will see that the British Government is

determined you shall have no excuse or provocation to renew hostilities or inroads ; but, mark this, that same Government has as firmly determined that you shall adhere to your engagements. You shall immediately upon the conclusion of the Treaty have full possession of this by us conquered and by you to us lately-ceded country up to the boundary fixed in 1819, but we shall keep up in the same such forts as we think requisite, and for so long until we shall be satisfied that you can and will fulfil the said engagements. It will therefore depend upon yourselves how soon you will relieve your country of our armed forces ; whilst we retain the power of repossessing ourselves of the whole and driving you out of it altogether, if your conduct compels us.'

"Then let a conference follow, and a deliberate solemn compact entered into in good faith, to be honestly executed on our part at least. Let it there be understood how mutual aggressions are to be checked and punished. Grant them the same severity which you exact. Instead of magistrates, let us (with consent of the Kaffirs) have Residents (a sort of Consul or Minister), residing with the principal Chiefs, but let these be men cautiously selected. Let all our communications with the Chiefs go through such Residents ; let our trades appeal to them in cases of necessity and dispute ; let those who have been robbed of cattle apply to them ; and if prudent wise men can be found for such offices, who can manage to gain the confidence and friendship of the Chiefs, what good might they not do ! what evil might they not prevent ! In promoting and protecting the interests of commerce, their usefulness would be very extensive. See what has already, in a way somewhat similar, been performed by the missionaries Shaw, of the Wesleyan, and Wright, of the London Society. Civilisa-

tion and the improvement of the code of the Kaffir laws could be more easily brought about by their means than by the precipitate introduction of English law, or by means of the bayonet. Why not even have such a Resident on the part of the Kaffirs residing with the Chief Officer on the Frontier? It would, of course, at first be a mere nominal thing, but it would be *a step*.

“ This Resident might happen to be a man of capacity, the son or near relative of the Chief, and the respect shown him would add to the importance of his principal ; under proper treatment, moreover, he might imbibe notions which would enable him to be of vast benefit to his country. Sundry minor points would, of course, be discussed, and become matter of treaty, which will suggest themselves on the spot ; but having, as I humbly trust, conveyed to your Lordship the principle upon which I would propose to proceed, I will not run the risk of rendering the plan obscure by minute explanations, which I think it better to reserve until your Lordship shall have had time to digest my views and arguments, and shall find it convenient again to require my personal attendance.

“ Convinced of my liability to error, I claim only the merit of candour in the above suggestions, and a readiness at all times to contribute whatever little there may be in my power to the measures taken for the peace and prosperity of the land of my birth ; and with every feeling of respect have the honour to be,

“ Your Lordship’s, &c. &c.,

(Signed) “ A. STOCKENSTROM.”

Captain Stockenstrom, now Lieutenant-Governor, with his family, finally embarked on board the *Lord W. Bentinck*, East Indiaman, at Gravesend on the 21st April, 1836, and on the 24th April off Deal, Dr. Barry joined as a passenger for the

Cape. The voyage was a singularly unpleasant and protracted one. On the 8th May, small-pox broke out on board, both among crew and passengers; one poor woman died and was *immediately* buried; as many as five cases in all had occurred; and on the arrival of the ship in Table Bay, on the morning of Sunday the 3rd July, 1836, after a voyage of seventy-four days, she was, of course, quarantined; and as the captain was anxious to leave immediately for Calcutta, arrangements were speedily made for the passengers being landed and quarantined in the Chavonnes Battery. Letters and despatches were, however, fumigated and delivered, so that much time was not lost in communications passing between the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and the Lieutenant-Governor, who remarks:

Nothing could be more gentlemanlike and dignified than the Governor's reception of me. He bore the highest character as a soldier, and in his private relations was much respected, as a father of a family and a man of honour; and if he had had time to become sufficiently acquainted with the Colony, and its relations with its neighbours, and also with the intrinsic worth of those who usually constitute themselves the guides of responsible new-comers, before he was overwhelmed by a flood of bewildering popularity and flattery, of the real value whereof his knowledge of history might have reminded him, he would have made an excellent Cape Governor, as I believe his natural disposition would have inclined towards justice and humanity.

For the state of the Frontier, when he reached the Colony, he could not be responsible, and Sir L. Cole had some right to trust to a Commandant of Kaffraria of fifteen years' border experience, and his military system, which, when the outbreak at last took place, left the whole of the Eastern Frontier in such a disgraceful state of panic as could only be equalled by that of twelve years later, consequent on our "*chastising the enemy*" at

Burns Hill. The best proof of the wisdom of Sir L. Cole's own system was, that that part of it which was not yet factiously subverted, viz., the Kat River settlement, was the only point that stood firm when even Fort Wilshire was abandoned *in the dark* by regular troops, as already stated, to the astonishment of enemies and friends. This panic remained unabated until Colonel Smith reached Graham's Town, and received reinforcements of troops, as well as of Boers, who came to the rescue as usual.

Immediately after my release from quarantine, in one of his first letters the Governor already proposed to me that I should forthwith abolish his system and introduce the Glenelg policy. This I should at once have done *if I had dared*, for I had already heard enough to satisfy me that the said system was no system at all, except one of scramble, blood, inconsistency, and absurdity ; but as my instructions positively commanded me to carry on the D'Urban system until I should receive orders to the contrary from the Supreme Government, which were to be issued after the receipt of certain explanations called for from the Governor, I declined carrying out His Excellency's proposal. The following Despatch, addressed to His Excellency the Governor, and dated from Cape Town, August 5th, 1836, places this in the clearest possible light:—

"SIR,—Having attentively perused the several documents, which your Excellency did me the honour to transmit under cover of your letters of the first instant (No. 1), I take the liberty for our mutual satisfaction hereby to record officially the sentiments which I expressed at the interview with which you favoured me this morning, and to repeat that I shall find great pleasure in cordially carrying into effect the system

established by your Excellency on the Frontier as now in operation, in strict accordance with the instructions of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, contained in his Despatch addressed to me on the 5th February, 1836, No. 2, and more particularly in the passage running thus, 'Although I have thus adverted,' &c., as far as 'the law as it actually stands.'

"In thus expressing myself I am not losing sight of the passages from Lord Glenelg's despatches to your Excellency, of the 17th February and 28th March, as inserted in your Excellency's said letter of the 1st instant; but, as on the 19th April, when I had the honour of an audience of leave with his Lordship, I was pointedly referred to the instructions which I had received, without any allusion to any communications to your Excellency, it does appear to me that, though the supercession of your Excellency's plan was evidently contemplated as the ultimate result of the instructions which I had received, and of my arrival here, it would nevertheless be premature in me to proceed to such supercession without those *further instructions*, for which I was so positively instructed to wait, and which were to be framed after the receipt by His Lordship of your Excellency's reply to his Despatch of the 26th December last; unless indeed it were your Excellency's desire that I should do so at once.

"But as your Excellency, after a test of nine months' practical experience of the working of said plan, is enabled to anticipate such desirable and important results from a perseverance in the same, we must admit the possibility that those further instructions, which must follow within a moderate period, may contain the sanction of your Excellency's views, in which case the re-establishment of the present state of affairs would be

attended with much greater difficulty than its reversal as soon as your Excellency shall have received the final instructions alluded to.

“At any rate, as I nowhere find the door entirely closed against such possibility, I should propose that I proceed to the Eastern Frontier (which, with your Excellency’s permission, I shall do immediately, having, in order to avoid delay, made up my mind to leave my family to follow at leisure); and that, after a personal examination and inspection of the affairs of the Borders, communicate to your Excellency the conclusion which I may come to, by which time the Minister’s decision may perhaps have left no further doubt on our minds; nor will by such a proceeding any material time be lost, as the undoing of what has been done will require a degree of caution, towards which an exact knowledge of various circumstances will be indispensable on my part.

“I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.”

Little idea had I then (when writing the above letter) that the Supreme Court had already given, or were giving, the *coup de grace* to this compound of perfection by simply declaring it illegal. It so happened that upon *very good and disinterested authority* the Governor was lulled into the belief that his system was working to perfection, whilst everybody on the Frontier with his eyes open and interested in truth complained of the contrary.

This happy state of affairs His Excellency proclaimed. “Then,” said the Judges, as soon as a particular question was referred to them, “if all is peace, your martial law is illegal, and if Colonel Smith were to put any one to death under it, he would himself be tried for murder.” This was no joke! but still it was to be kept secret

from *me*, who was sent by the King to carry out this very system, and preparing to proceed to commence my functions. Yet before I had left Cape Town four-and-twenty hours, without the slightest hint to me of what was going on on so vital a subject, which concerned nobody in the Colony next to the Governor as much as myself, *Martial Law was repealed by Proclamation* (dated 18th August, 1836). On reaching Swellendam I saw this publication in the public prints.

Thus, here was the Governor's abolition of his own system, which I was to administer, and which I had pointedly refused to abolish, before I had reached within three hundred miles of my jurisdiction, consequently before I could exercise a single act of authority. On the road I received a letter telling me that one of the *Puffendorfs*, who loved the Governor as much as me, had boasted that he had got us both into a fix. To me it would indeed have been a fix, if I had not known more about the Kaffirs and about the Frontier than my chief, for here I have the control of thousands upon thousands of furious barbarians, and some equally furious white savages, thrown upon me without any system of rule, beyond that which prevailed throughout the Colony; so that Colonel Smith, when he received the proclamation repealing martial law, with truth exclaimed to his Assistant, "the sooner we march out of the province the better, for how am I to eat up a Kaffir according to Blackstone?"

As mention is here made of Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith, an officer so highly popular, both at this period of Cape history, and afterwards as Governor of the Colony, the reader who would wish to know what such a high authority thought of the D'Urban system, which he was himself actively carrying out, is here furnished with some extracts of a document containing

his (Colonel Smith's) "plan of Frontier Police and relations with the Kaffir tribes," dated *July 12, 1836*, which clearly shows that not only the Governor, but the Colonel himself, was *then* (while the Lieutenant-Governor was in the Chavonne battery, and he six or seven hundred miles distant) aware that the Supreme Government had disapproved of the Governor's act of Incorporation of the province of Adelaide, and the proclaiming of the Kaffirs to be British subjects.

The document was forwarded by the Governor to the Lieut.-Governor on the 9th November, and is an astounding condemnation of the D'Urban system, and strongly advocates some of the leading principles of the Glenelg policy.

"In the event of being, by stern necessity, forced to withdraw from this province, and to give it up exclusively to the natives—as the former border system, *if so it could be called*, has very properly been condemned as *unjust* and *impolitic*—the question naturally arises what system ought to be adopted as salutary and efficacious? I therefore consider it my duty to submit to your Excellency, however little value may be attached to my opinion, the following practical remarks. They are framed from some experience in the administration of the Government of this Province, which may contain matter of equal validity, at least as worthy of consideration as the theoretical visions and schemes of talented persons unacquainted with either local affairs or the Kaffir character.

"1st. The Colonial Border is neither to be protected by military display and the glittering array of troops, under either pompous or arbitrary, or vacillating and imbecile, Commanders, or by chains of posts, either under too energetic or apathetic officers in command of them, who may conduct patrols, on the one hand to the great annoyance and irritation of the Kaffirs, on the other, to

the mortification of the honest farmer, who has been robbed by banditti.

"2nd. Or, in cases of numerous and continued robberies, that the Kaffir Chiefs are cited to appear before the highest authority, to account for the misdemeanors of their people, when much recrimination is entered into, ill-will and mutual contempt and disgust created ; but by a practical system, which will work well in the hands of active and judicious men, to whose execution it may be entrusted, and which cannot be marred by others possessing less ability, or judgment, or activity.

" 1st. * * *

"2nd. A most efficient Police of Natives (Kaffirs) to be established—twenty of them at each military post. Captain Stretch, if he would (being in a great degree independent) undertake the duty, to be appointed general Superintendent of this body of Police.

"4th. Upon the farmer discovering he has been robbed, he is to follow up the spoor, to proceed to the nearest agent of police, make affidavit that he has lost —, if during *the day*, that he was satisfied of the diligence of his herd ; if at night that his cattle were *in the kraal*. Half the depredations are occasioned by the farmers themselves, from allowing their cattle to wander about *without even counting them for days*. The next thing to be considered is, suppose the farmer to be robbed to a serious extent, yet his cattle, or any traces of them, are not discovered, has he any claim on the Government ? I say *No !* for if he attends to his herds—it is totally impossible they can fly—the spoor must be discovered, and so must the cattle.

" 5. No patrol to cross the boundary line.

" 8. The Lieutenant-Governor should once a year

meet all the Chiefs, assembled for the purpose ; he should request the attendance upon that occasion of all the missionaries,—of course of all the civil functionaries ; he should listen to every claim the Chiefs may have to prefer, or grievance to redress ; he should interest himself in their welfare ; he should impress upon them the necessity of religious education ; should equally impress upon them the sacred regard we have for the ministers of God, and that they are under the exclusive protection of Kings and Chieftains ; he should endeavour to promote schools of industry : assist them with tools, make them presents of this nature ; he should then comment upon their exertions in recovering stolen property, or upon their apathy, *praise and reward, censure and condemn, &c. &c. &c.* The Kaffirs now regard us as their friends ; such a line of conduct would ensure a reciprocal feeling, and human nature is far more easily led than driven.

* * * * *

“ These are the outlines of a system, which, if set in motion on the principles described (of all things avoid anything military further than in paragraph 1) by any individual in *whom the Kaffirs have faith* and to whom they are attached, it would gradually gain ground, it would be the Chiefs’ interest to assist to the utmost ; *their people would see* all the Colonists require is honesty ; mutual interests would be created, animosity buried in oblivion ; and if the fate of this province is sentenced to comparative death, such a system as I point out can alone afford any security to the property of the farmers, general tranquillity, and universal good. The military force shortly might be reduced to a few hundred, but all depends upon the *main spring, the chief magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, and the non-interference of the*

military. The latter is the thing of all others to *reanimate* every *animosity* and *hostility* in the minds of the Kaffirs.

(Signed) "H. G. SMITH."

Comment on this document would be superfluous, beyond remarking how its main principles were exactly those upon which the Lieutenant-Governor had always been insisting, and was endeavouring to give effect to at the time the Governor transmitted the memorandum to him.

Sir Andries continues: I made up my mind at once to adopt *the system* of common sense, in which I was most cordially supported by the great majority of the military officers, whom I found, as usual, a truly gentlemanlike, honourable set of men. I at last received orders *from the Governor himself*, long after he had upset his own system, to carry out Lord Glenelg's policy; which I did, taking it for granted that the order was founded on the expected final decision from Downing Street. Now, as the above facts can be proved to a tittle by a mere look at authentic documents, can any true friend of Sir B. D'Urban otherwise than lament to see him in the fangs of vipers, who would still persist that I had upset the system, making him ridiculous and contemptible in his inability to prevent his subaltern from setting both him and the King's Government at defiance.

Before proceeding further, however, with the official career of the Lieutenant-Governor, it is gratifying to be able to record that (in spite of the diabolical conspiracy which his traducers had already for some time had in hand, and of which the reader will unhappily soon have to hear so much) his arrival in the Colony was hailed by the vast majority of the people, especially by all those who were capable of appreciating his

true worth, with intense delight from Cape Town to the Frontier. Addresses and congratulations from various communities, as well as from many public men and many private friends, were literally showered upon him. Among the private papers of the worthy Baronet are still to be found, carefully preserved, addresses from Cape Town, Worcester, Graaff Reinet, Somerset East, Bavians River, Brak River, Smits River, Brintjes Hoogte, Agter Sneeuwberg, Uitenhage, Kat River, Tarka, King William's Town, the Pringles, and other settlers at Glen Lynden. From Achmet, chief priest of the Mahommedans, from Messrs. Truter, Leeb, H. A. Meintjes, Rev. George Morgan, Rev. A. Murray, and very many more.

The Cape Town address signed by eighty-five of the leading men of the day, including the ministers of many religious denominations, and such men as Dr. Adamson, Dr. Innes, Dr. Abercrombie, Fairbairn, Tennant, Landsberg, &c. &c., is in the following terms—*honourable* alike to the signants and to the recipient thereof :

“Cape Town, July 20, 1836.

“To the Honourable Andries Stockenstrom, Esq.,
Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Province of
the Colony, &c.

“SIR,—As the friends of justice and humanity, and deeply interested in the peace and security of this Colony, we beg to express to you, along with our congratulations on your safe arrival in the land of your birth, the pleasure and satisfaction which we feel at your appointment to the important office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province, which has suffered so severely from its proximity to a people with whom we can have peace on no other principles.

“Your appointment, after the clear and explicit statement of your sentiments on the subject of our Frontier policy before the Committee of the House of

Commons, is in our opinion equally honourable to His Majesty's Ministers and to yourself, and we receive it as an invaluable pledge of His Majesty's paternal regard for his faithful subjects in South Africa, and of his determination to establish and maintain a system of relations with our neighbours, that will ensure tranquillity to us, and safety and civilisation to them.

"That you may long enjoy His Majesty's confidence and favour, and speedily see, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the complete success of these noble designs for the benefit of the Colony and of the tribes on our borders expressed in your evidence before the Committee, is the sincere and ardent prayer of

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servants."

To all these addresses suitable replies were granted. An address was prepared in Graham's Town and a copy of same forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor, with request to be allowed to present the same. No copy of this address is among the Baronet's papers, nor indeed could there be, because he declined to receive it, considering it couched in terms which were unwarranted. His letter, addressed to Mr. W. R. Thompson, who forwarded same, ought to have satisfied these men that their interests, provided the said interests were based upon such principles as would secure the peace of the Frontier, and common justice and humanity to all, were safe in his hands. It is as follows :

"Graham's Town, September 3, 1836.

"To W. R. Thompson, Esq.,

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of to-day with its enclosure, I have to acquaint you that I feel it my duty to decline receiving the address which you state it is intended to present to me.

"In doing so, however, I disclaim the least feeling of

disrespect to you personally, as what I have heard of your character inclines me to a contrary feeling, and the Albany inhabitants in the aggregate will soon find out whether I am disposed to condemn them and their interests. It is, on the contrary, because I believe you to be conscientiously mistaken, that I go beyond the mere rejection of the address and state to you the ground of my decision.

"Your 'indefeasible rights' as a British subject pave the way for your grievances and representations to the legal tribunals of the country, the Government, the Legislature, and to the foot of the Throne itself. It shall be my anxious study to uphold them inviolate, not only from public duty but private interest, as my own cannot be preserved when yours are trampled upon; but those rights do not create you judge and jury in a cause in which you are pleased to constitute yourself plaintiff and me defendant. Before competent authority and an impartial public I shall justify my official acts and words, and defend my opinions; and it is but candid to inform you that I am determined strictly to act up to the latter, without thirst for popularity or dread of the contrary; whilst your remonstrances against my measures, however strong, provided they preserve due respect for the King and his Government, shall be readily and faithfully transmitted to my superiors.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

As this reply was denounced as indicating a determination on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor to ride the high horse, and as an outrageous insult to the community, the reader is

supplied with a copy of the address as it appeared in the columns of the *Graham's Town Journal*, and can form his own opinions on the respective merits of both sides. The address is as follows :—

“To His Honour Andries Stockenstrom, Esq.,
Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province of His
Majesty's Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, &c., &c.

“The undersigned, inhabitants of the District of Albany, feel it their bounden duty, as loyal British subjects, to convey to your Honour, on this your arrival among them, their becoming sense of the great and numerous advantages which must eventually accrue to the Eastern Province of this Colony by the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor to watch over its interests, by guarding it against foreign aggression, by developing its internal resources, and by promoting its general prosperity.

“But while they make this public expression of gratitude for His Majesty's most gracious acquiescence in their prayer, they deem it likewise their duty to state explicitly their deep apprehension lest H.M.'s Government should be labouring under such fatal and erroneous impressions respecting the real character of the Colonists in general, their treatment of the coloured classes within the Colony, and their conduct towards the tribes, as cannot fail ultimately to lead to the disappointment of their just hopes of future support and of adequate protection.

“Nor can they forget that the unflinching defence of their character as a community, and the maintenance of their inalienable rights, are duties which, as fathers of families, and as members of civil society, they cannot neglect or compromise without betray-

ing a sacred trust, or exhibiting a dereliction of principle, that would render them unworthy of the people and country to which they belong. They are sensible also of the imperative necessity of a faithful discharge of these duties at a crisis like the present, when they have before them the indubitable fact that the scenes of suffering which have recently been witnessed around them, the severe privations which many have been called upon to endure, and the sweeping ruin that has overtaken a large proportion of this once smiling and prosperous settlement, have been caused mainly by misrepresentations widely circulated in the parent country to their prejudice by uninformed or partial writers. They would also be wanting in candour, and might in some respects be considered as having forfeited their claims to consideration as independent men and subjects of a free country, did they affect to conceal from your Honour their conviction that the evidence lately given by yourself before a Committee of the representatives of the British people has made an impression on the public mind exceedingly derogatory to their character for humanity and justice, injurious to their future prospects as a young and rising community, and fatal to their claims to that compensation for their losses by the late barbarian inroad, to which in equity they conceive they are entitled from a paternal Government.

“Under such circumstances, and with these views and feelings, they address your Honour on assuming the duties of Lieutenant-Governor of this Province, and they now, at the earliest moment after your arrival among them, request respectfully, but firmly, and as an act of unquestionable justice, that your Honour will be pleased to state :

“1. Whether, in your opinion, the conduct of the British settlers in Albany has ever been in any one instance such as to justify the native tribes adjacent making incursions upon them, and in laying waste the country in which they have been placed by the British Government.

“2. Whether your Honour has any knowledge of their having ever, as a community, acted inconsistent with the British name and character.

“3. Whether it is your opinion that the Frontier farmers in general derive any advantage by hostile collision with the natives ; or whether, on the contrary, it is not within the knowledge of your Honour that the inhabitants along the whole of the inland Frontier of this Colony have been continually suffering from the daring and unprovoked inroads of the native tribes upon them, and which have often resulted in the murder of their families, the destruction of their dwellings, and generally in the loss of property which constitutes to a Colonial farmer the means of subsistence.

“4. Whether, in short, the evidence given by your Honour before a Committee of the House of Commons was intended to make on the public mind such impressions as are calculated to lead to a conclusion that the inhabitants of this Colony or of this Frontier deserve as a people, by their ill-treatment of the native tribes, or any other cause of misconduct, to be reproached by their country with having brought disgrace upon the British name, or acted inconsistent with the requirements of humanity and justice.

“It now only remains for them distinctly to state that whilst they claim for themselves the indefeasible right of questioning the merits of public men who may be called to exercise authority over them, or the expediency of

measures which affect their most vital interests, and whilst they present themselves to your Honour on this occasion in the exercise of this sacred birthright, they at the same time deprecate any imputation of being actuated by factious views, or by partial or local feelings and prejudices; on the contrary, they take credit for an anxious desire to uphold the institutions of the country, for a firm determination to respect and support lawful authority, and for unshaken and ardent attachment and loyalty to their King and country."

"Signed by 412 names."

To my great regret and inconvenience, I soon came into collision with the Governor, who had gained the sympathy and approbation of many of the best men in the Colony, among whom were some who were objects of my sincere esteem and friendship.

The Governor's conflict with Downing Street had commenced before I arrived in London from Sweden, when I knew as little of Lord Glenelg as of Sir B. D'Urban. Any man of honour—and of such alone is the opinion worth a thought—who wishes to become acquainted with the nature of the differences between the Supreme Government, the Governor, and myself, will search the authentic official correspondence that passed between these three quarters, and the final decision under the authority of the Crown; no one is fool enough to believe Sir B. D'Urban the least able of the three parties to defend a just cause. I repeat then, the man of honour will search for the truth at the only source where it is to be found; whilst the advocate of falsehood, and the miserable scribblers, male or female, old or childish, interested in the propagation of the same

article in order to enhance the sale of trash, which fortunately with its authors is soon forgotten, though sometimes leaving traces which often take a longer period to sink into due contempt, will echo the dictates of envy, hatred, malice, and disappointed revenge.

The popularity of the Governor was considerably increased by the Secretary of State's disapproval of his policy, and "as for the Dutchman with his pretended law of nations, of truth and of justice, and his moral prestige of six hundred soldiers, sent on his high horse to override the indefeasible right of Englishmen to cut off Hintza's ears, seize his land, and prey upon six thousand troops, or double that number, this is indeed too much for Anglo-Saxon blood after abandoning a happy home with plenty to adopt this savage land of poverty; we shall make as short work of him as we made of his Cole system. Let no fabrication be too atrocious: audacity and persistency will gain plausibility, and even good credulous men may be caught in our trap. The Exodus of the Boers must be traced to the appointment of one of themselves to rule them, who they had hoped would swear that black was white, to justify robbery and massacre, but sold himself to the missionaries and other saints for his own aggrandisement, and comes upon us to make his countrymen Roman Catholics, and kidnap them for soldiers and sailors by means of militia laws, and to confiscate for the benefit of the emancipated slaves the Request places which he himself refused to let the settlers have. Never cease reiterating also the abomination that the Boers expatriate themselves in consequence of the substitution of the Glenelg policy for the blessed D'Urban system—although *we know* that not one single Boer has the most distant idea of what either the policy or the system

means—although *we know* that the Exodus was in full operation before Lord Glenelg had ever been heard of; and although *we know* that the author of the *system* had himself trampled down his own handiwork before the policy could even be known; but there is no lie, however barefaced, that will not gain currency for a time by constant repetition, and as our adopted brethren are exceedingly gullible, it will not be impossible, by working upon their anger and their fears, to manufacture a set-off against Hintza in a pond up to the neck in water praying for life and mercy. The Dutchman has been all his life struggling against savages. He must in some of his campaigns have killed Kaffirs, and surely some Boer must still be in existence who has seen him do so, and who, on being assured by ‘Beware,’ or some such ally, that his best friend has become his bitterest enemy, can be suborned to exaggerate a case of self-defence, or regular fight, into a Hintza tragedy on the Blinkwater. This may be worked into a law case. We have very clever lawyers and a convenient Court, and if we can only get our case *there*, as one of us said, our work is complete.”

I must at once dispose of this ocean of rascality. There can be no doubt that some of the Boers were desperately exasperated against me by the cleverness and cunning with which the conspirators worked upon their passions, whilst at the same time aiming at their purses; but I never met one of the dupes who did not express his sorrow and shame, often with tears, that he had allowed himself to be blinded by such hypocritical imposters. When I reached Graaff Reinet for the first time after my arrival on the Frontier as Lieutenant-Governor, being received with the accustomed enthusiasm, Mr. Hendrik Christoffel Olivier called upon me,

with several of the old respectable Boers, who stated the abominable fabrications by which attempts had been made to poison their minds, and with some successfully, as they admitted with tears in their eyes. An old adherent and Commandant of mine wept like a child, when he said how certain parties, particularly those who were fishing among the Boers for evidence of the murder which I had committed, had been going about positively asserting that I myself had turned Roman Catholic, and would bring with me the images which were to be put up at the cross roads ; that I was determined to give all Government land and the Request places exclusively to the coloured classes, and to make soldiers and sailors of the young Boers ; that I was the cause of the loss of their slaves, and of their only receiving one-third of the amount for which these slaves had been appraised, by telling the British Government that the slave-holders were already too rich, and therefore disposed to rebel.

They reminded the Boers of the case of Bezuidenhout, whom *I had caused to be shot for flogging an insolent Hottentot ;* of the five burghers whom *I had got hanged because they had tried to rescue one of themselves out of the hands of Hottentot soldiers, who kept him prisoner without cause ;* of my hanging so respectable a Boer as *D. S. for simply killing a miserable Bushman.*

They proved their chief charges by my having always advocated the emancipation of the slaves, especially by the great meeting in Graaff Reinet in 1826 ; by my passing the 50th Ordinance ; by my giving the Kat River to the Hottentots ; by my giving Philippolis territory to the rebel Bergenaars ; by the fuss which I made about the killing of "that scoundrel Zekoe ;" and by my always taking the side of the blacks against the

whites. "All this," added Charl Pretorius, the Commandant above alluded to, who was spokesman for about twenty standing by, and who now (in 1861) is still living, "all this was quite enough to make us all mad. You know how easily the Boer is duped when you touch him on certain sore points. I told the evidence-seekers that I had seen you kill a Kaffir, and that I had no doubt you had killed many more, as I had done, and as it was our business to kill or be killed. I dare say they may twist this into anything they like to make of it, for they are very clever people, but that is what I told them." This same man was one of the set who, when the case was to come on in the Supreme Court, were sent to Cape Town under surveillance of the son of a high official *to prevent their going astray or wandering from the text*; but when they summoned him for a third time, that is to appear before the Court of Enquiry in Graham's Town, he told Olivier that they might take him there dead, but that alive he would not go, as he was determined no longer to be made a tool of against his best friend; and the conspirators did not insist on his appearing, as they were but too glad to escape the exposure of their rascality by my cross-questioning poor Pretorius. We shall have more of this.

My notes show that I travelled from Cape Town accompanied by Colonels Havelock and Napier, and was everywhere received with the utmost kindness and hospitality; and, with the exception of one piece of impertinence in the shape of the Graham's Town address, which was treated as it deserved, there was nothing to complain of. In my first tour through my province Colonel Peddie and Mr. Secretary Hudson were with me; and although the leaders of the plot predicted that I

should be shot as soon as I should get beyond military protection, and soon after concocted the report that we were all three shot, my fellow-travellers expressed their delight at the enthusiastic affection which the Boers and their families evinced towards me, and the comfort, confidence, and cordiality with which we lived amongst them. In fact, I found the disposition of the Boers as strong in my favour then (in 1836)—*stronger was impossible*—as it was when I was Landdrost.

The misrepresentations as to the causes of the Exodus were equally atrocious, and with such shameless impudence has the atrocity been adhered to, that book-makers, pamphleteers, and speech-makers for a long time echoed the fable as gospel.

Now I have already shown, and my correspondence with the Governor will further show, that the Boers were emigrating long before Lord Glenelg was heard of. None but the most obstinate lovers of what is false will deny this, after the documents referred to and the notorious facts shall have been examined.

The real origin of the Exodus dates from the days of Van Riebeck, since when we have crept up from Green Point to the Orange River. All my influence and authority was not sufficient to prevent our pushing to the banks of that stream and Stormberg Spruit before 1822. It will be remembered with what difficulty I checked, in about 1823, the people of my district in anticipating the Bergenaars in the possession of the country beyond the Orange—how they crossed over into that country in swarms as soon as I left Graaff Reinet, and how I had to go and fetch them back in 1830. Emigration, therefore, into the vacant or thinly-inhabited tracts bordering us on the north required no squabbles between Secretaries of State and Governors to set it a-going, and

nothing but the most sinister motives will try to connect the two impulses.

It is undeniable, however, that the Boers about the year 1835 were under very strong excitement, and stimulated in their habitual desire for movement to the land of *game and freedom* by circumstances of great irritation. In the first place, they disapproved of the administrative change by which the Board of Heemraden was abolished and the Colony deprived of the only shadow of representation in it ; in the second place, they considered themselves cruelly wronged by the bungling manner in which the slave-compensation was managed as above stated ; in the third place, they loudly censured and bitterly ridiculed the conduct of the war, in which they maintained that the Kaffirs had mastered us by retaining possession of the firearms which the Government had solemnly promised to recover, whilst that Government had seized and arbitrarily appraised horses of the Burghers without paying them ; and, in the fourth place, they were desperately exasperated by the reports of the intended introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, of militia laws, and of the granting of the Request places to the blacks : all which iniquitously false reports were poured into their ears by the fraudulent speculators who hoped to frighten them out of the Colony, and buy their lands for a song.

The Boer, therefore, had in his own mind plenty of provocation for flying from British jurisdiction ; but for your *Policy* or your *System*, for your *Glenelg* or your *D'Urban*, he did not care more than for the ashes in his exhausted pipe, or the fulsome, or abusive and equally false addresses which you have coaxed or bullied him to sign. Then we come to the question as to who upset the D'Urban system. I allowed the conspirators to

propagate their falsehood on the subject without deeming it worthy of refutation, considering the quarter from which it came ; until an editor of one of the public prints, a gentleman of honour and truth, such as the Colony can boast of others in the same profession, indignant at the pertinacity with which a malicious fabrication was foisted upon the community, procuring the necessary data from me, completely unmasked the facts to the satisfaction of all who were not blinded by stupidity or party spirit. Anything that may have been said in contradiction to the *Frontier Times* on the above subject, I have no hesitation in designating by the most laconic denial which the language affords, and which I think it a humiliation to be so often compelled to resort to.

That this journal lost not the slightest moral power by thus boldly bearding the self-styled popular faction, shows that the respectable part of the community was sound at the core in spite of the sophistications and delusions employed to demoralise it. It is perhaps not superfluous briefly to support Mr. Franklin's assertions by reiteration of proofs, which are within the reach of any one in Cape Town or the Frontier. The fact is, Sir B. D'Urban considered the Kaffirs "irreclaimable savages," controllable only by your powder and ball, your leaden pills and bayonet. In his ignorance of his new position it was easy for his flatterers to confirm him in this theory, which by guaranteeing an enormous military expenditure, rapid promotion, provisional commissions, and territorial conquest as the surest road to the clamorous, however empty loathsome popularity of the hand at the helm, seemed prospectively profitable to everybody, except John Bull and John Kaffir, and produced the system which His Excellency's Chief

Assistant, Colonel Smith, significantly called the "up-eating system," and which could not exist for an instant without Martial Law.

What Colonel Smith himself thought of that system has been shown in the extracts of his memorandum submitted to the Governor, dated July 12, 1836.

CHAPTER XXII.

1836-1837.

Important Despatches showing state of Frontier—First Meeting of Kaffir Chiefs—Truth concerning D'Urban System—Complaints of Hottentot Levies—Abandonment of certain Posts—Disposal of Military Forces—Kaffir Depredations—Location of Fingoes—Captain Rabe—Report on Kat River—Shiloh—Up-eating system—Mapassa—Piet Ketief—Cradock—False Reports—Northern Border—Necessity of Law empowering Colonists to defend Life and Property—Causes of Discontent—Emigration of Farmers—Again insists on Farmers being allowed to protect their Property—Incessant Kaffir Depredations—Example of up-eating System—Conspiracy of Kaffirs to massacre Europeans at meeting—Unrest in Kaffraria—Piet Retief—Further Grievances of Colonists—Letter to Van der Walt—Sir B. D'Urban withholds Lieutenant-Governor's Despatches from Secretary of State—Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir G. Napier.

IN his Autobiographical notes, Sir Andries says so little of his public administration of the office of Lieutenant-Governor, relying entirely upon the immense mass of official documents in existence concerning the same, that it can only be by a selection from those records that any idea can be gained of what that administration was. His political opponents have never ceased to accuse him of having upset the D'Urban system, which they have invariably represented as the only system by which it was possible to preserve the peace of the Frontier, and he has been again and again charged with having caused all the misfortunes that have overtaken the Border districts, and the Colony generally, from the time of his becoming Commissioner-General to the very latest years. Who upset the D'Urban system has been already clearly set forth. What that system was, how it was maintained, the state of the country during its continuance, as well as the disgraceful schemes and plots resorted to in high and low,

official and unofficial quarters, not only to thwart his public measures, but to asperse and ruin his private reputation and character, will clearly appear to the unprejudiced, impartial reader on a careful perusal of the following extracts from the almost overwhelming correspondence, comprising upwards of 400 despatches addressed to this Governor alone by the unwearied pen of this indefatigable public servant.

The Lieutenant-Governor remained but a few days in Graham's Town, and on the 14th September we find him writing from King William's Town to the Governor as follows :—

“ King William's Town, September 14, 1836.

“ SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived at this station on the 10th instant, and received at once from Lieutenant-Colonel Smith every possible attention, as well as the fullest and most candid communication of his views of the state of affairs. He had called a meeting of the Kaffir Chiefs, Agents, and Magistrates to take place on the 12th, but as all could not be collected so soon, the meeting was postponed till yesterday, when considerable numbers were assembled, and when the Lieutenant-Colonel addressed the Kaffirs in a very impressive speech. After I also had said a few words to them, the Chief Macomo complained of the limited extent of territory allotted to the tribe of Gaika, and requested that they might be placed in possession of the country they formerly occupied to the west of the Choomie ; he also represented that the Chiefs were deprived of their power, and Tjalie demanded the free exercise of witchcraft. To all this of course I could only oppose the treaties which they had entered into, and informed them that the meeting had been called by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, not with a view of interfering with those treaties, but merely to introduce me to them, and to take leave of them. All the Kaffirs whom I had

an opportunity of conversing with expressed the most unqualified satisfaction with Lieutenant-Colonel Smith's conduct towards them ; and many symptoms of regret at his departure, particularly on the part of Macomo, were apparent. My own opinion is that the Colonel's zeal and industry are beyond all praise, and have greatly contributed to the tranquil state of the Kaffir tribes.

" I now proceed to lay before your Excellency the conclusions which I have come to after all the information which I have been able to gain since my arrival on the Frontier. In the first place, there is no doubt in my mind of the impossibility of carrying on the system which your Excellency introduced into the new territory without the discretionary power which was exercised by the authorities under martial law, which has recently been repealed. On this subject Colonel Smith and every one of the agents entirely agree. The strict adhesion to the forms of law impedes the execution of the law altogether, and its rigid enforcement will cause the province to be without law at all ; whilst the effect of said repeal, if once known by Kaffirs and Colonists, will, I fear, lead to very great confusion, many sources of which will at once be rendered apparent to your Excellency by my giving one as an example : viz., it is reported that great caravans of emigrants from the Colony are on the point of proceeding to Natal.

" They may argue that as this province now constitutes, to all intents and purposes, part of the Colony, subject to the same laws with its whole, they have a right to proceed unhindered through it. The mischiefs which may result from such a contingency are sufficiently enormous to induce me to prevent its taking place at all risks, but it involves great responsibility ; and many

similar acts which are perfectly legal within the old boundaries, and now become so *here*, are altogether subversive of your Excellency's philanthropic aims, peace, and civilisation.

" But in thus showing that the newly-acquired territory cannot be safely maintained as a British dependency without martial law, I by no means mean to argue that it can be advantageously or even safely maintained as such with that control. Order has hitherto been maintained by the indefatigable exertions of Colonel Smith, supported by competent means and zealous auxiliaries ; but though we may take for granted that a great proportion of the Kaffir people are pleased to be emancipated from the despotic power of the Chiefs (whilst candour admits the doubt whether love of a better constitution or freedom from restraints be the motive), yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Chiefs are dissatisfied with the actual state of things ; that they have many adherents, such as subordinate Chiefs, councillors, family connections, and all the ramifications which bind those together here with no less force than in civilised states.

" A Chief, thus dissatisfied, has only to proceed beyond the Key, there collect a force, fall upon what he would consider his rebellious subjects, who would soon be obliged to become most loyal, and reinforced by his said partizans make us pay dearly for his temporary submission. I admit to your Excellency that our forces, as they now exist, would soon check such defection ; but the expense of keeping up those forces is so enormous that the sovereignty of a great proportion of the African Continent would be dear, bought at such a price, and the contest would involve a principle which I have reason to believe would not be sanctioned by the supreme

Government or legislature. Nor can we keep our present strength, even if expense were out of the question.

“The Hottentots, constituting the provisionals, and Beaufort Levy are near one-third of that strength, and clamorous for relief. A deputation of them waited on me to-day, and most respectfully but urgently stated their detention as a grievance. Martial law being abolished, the officer commanding them has no more hold on them than on Boers on Commando, nor would it be just to coerce them after all their patience and forbearance, even if the power to do so did exist. Those, therefore, who will not volunteer to stay must be allowed to go home soon, or they will do so in spite of us. For these and other obvious reasons, I believe that if His Majesty’s Government decide upon annexing the province to the Colony, the decision will soon require to be cancelled, and I sincerely wish that your Excellency and myself were relieved from the dilemma caused by the suspense. I feel confident that the line we will ultimately be compelled to take up and defend is that sanctioned in Lord Glenelg’s despatch to your Excellency, No. 47, dated 29th March last; and it is therefore also that I shall give effect to your Excellency’s wish of withdrawing certain posts (as stated in one of your memoranda to Lieutenant-Colonel Smith), as soon as I shall have communicated with Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset. Those of Warden, Wellington, Beresford and Murray may be abandoned at once, and Waterloo may follow soon. Fort White is useful as a link between this post, Fort Cox, and Fort Wilshire. We shall thus be able to dispense with a considerable proportion of the Hottentots now employed, and have the main body of our disposable force nearer our most vulnerable point in case of attack, viz., the Fish River jungles.

"This arrangement will not affect the question, if even it be decided to keep the province as British territory, with the Kaffirs in it, as follows of course, for the said jungles will always be our weak side, and in case of a sudden irruption, as the last, the whole Albany district might be desolated before troops from such remote positions, in which they would be useless, could be brought to its assistance." * * * *

"Balfour, on the Kat River,
"September 20, 1836.

"His Excellency the Governor,

"SIR,—I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter addressed by me to the Commandant of Kaffraria on the 17th instant, and of that officer's reply, particularly referring, among other matter, to the numerous depredations which have of late taken place previous to his resuming the general command of the Forces in this Division, which depredations Captain Armstrong represents as 'unprecedented since the war.'

* * * *

"With reference to the occupation by the Fingoes of the territory so claimed by the Kaffirs, I cannot withhold from your Excellency that I have not found one single individual who considers the Fingoes less troublesome neighbours to us than the Kaffirs, or who does not believe that danger is to be apprehended from the jealousy and hatred felt by the Kaffirs on account of said occupation. They plunder each other incessantly, and by the returns and reports it appears that both plunder the Boers; whilst the abolition of martial law having put a stop to the exercise of the summary measures hitherto adopted, leaves us no means for checking those outrages.

* * * *

"The enclosed copy of a report of Captain Rabe, dated 19th instant, will show your Excellency the system which that officer is acting upon, and which of course it is necessary to put a stop to at once. The farmers gaining two hundred per cent. by losing cattle; an innocent man fined for not fulfilling a promise which he had been forced to make, and another totally unconnected with the matter sharing in the spoil, only because he is in want.

"I have, &c. &c.,
(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

"Cradock, September 27, 1836.

"His Excellency the Governor,

"SIR,—As I had the honour of informing your Excellency by my despatch, dated Balfour the 20th instant, I proceeded thence to Shiloh, after having given the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlements the best assurance of the beneficent views of the British Government with reference to them as well as every other class of His Majesty's subjects, and expressing to them my sanguine hopes that their severe losses, caused by the late Kaffir war, would be compensated by the liberality of the British nation. I left them without a doubt on my mind of their unqualified loyalty, and a determination to recover from the distress into which those losses have plunged them by persevering industry: which, however, I fear with them, as with so many other innocent victims, will be but a fruitless effort without such relief.

"At Shiloh I found the system technically, and I think appropriately, called the '*up-eating* system,' of which I had the honour of transmitting to your Excellency a specimen (under cover of my said despatch) in full

operation. A Tambookie steals *one* cow, and the Kraal to which he belongs, or through which the cow is traced, is fined *five*. Those from whom these five are taken come into the Colony and take *ten* wherever they can, and so the evil is multiplied until bloodshed and war follows. Nor has the natural result failed at Shiloh and the adjacent borders, for both Boers and Tambookies declare *that depredations never were so numerous before except during actual war*. I directed Captain Rabe at once to desist, and in future to deal with all cases of 'treason, murder, rape, setting houses or other property on fire, and theft,' according to law.

"The Tambookies have many quarrels among themselves, and with other tribes, in which they consider us bound to interfere, which we will be, if the country they occupy continue British territory, and they British subjects, and which I fear will be too colossal a task for our means.

"The Chief Mapassa is an apathetic barbarian, equally afraid of the Colonists and the Kaffirs and the Bushmen, and values British sovereignty only in so far as it may prove a protection against his enemies. He is as anxious as the Kaffir Chiefs to have the smelling dance against witchcraft re-established to its fullest extent. Such men, I humbly submit, it will be difficult to rule by our laws, in our and their present circumstances.

"Previous to my leaving Balfour the Field Commandant, Piet Retief, met me, and informed me that a number of inhabitants of his Division had made up their mind to emigrate from the Colony, but were wavering in hopes of a change in the present state of affairs. Their grievances he represented to be that the country was swarming with armed blacks of all sorts, as Fingoes, Mantatees, Tambookies Kaffirs, &c.; that by these they

were every day plundered of the little left them or acquired by them after the war; that the present Frontier system afforded no prospect of protection for the future, and that they lost all hopes of being compensated for their losses. I told him that I had no means to prevent the emigration, and had nothing to promise on the part of Government but strict justice to all parties; that the law had placed a remedy in the hands of the Civil Commissioner against the swarms of armed blacks complained of, and that with reference to compensation I could only hope that it would be granted. The fact is, I believe that the people are opening their eyes, and that, if no farther imposed on by designing men, few more will leave the Colony.

“Information had reached me that the inhabitants of this district were in a state of great excitement and irritation, preparing all to emigrate. I therefore considered it my duty to get among them as soon as possible, and proceeded from Shiloh hither through the Tarka. That excitement exists to a great extent cannot be denied; but more respectful and even affectionate conduct I could not have met with anywhere. Some of the prevailing causes of complaint are so absurd, that they only prove the facility with which those unprincipled men who prey upon the credulity of the ignorant mass lead them astray; such as, that the Reform Ministers were to turn Roman Catholics, and are determined to enforce that faith throughout this Colony; that a militia system is going to be established with a view of making soldiers of the farmers; that their title-deeds of the lands which have been measured for them as long back as ten and twenty years, are withheld in order to dispossess them, and give the lands to the Hottentots, and such-like extravagancies; but they do also state

grievances which Government cannot disregard, viz., that they are totally neglected, and have no access to the local authorities, who hardly ever come among them, to reach whom they have from 100 to 150 miles to travel, and then often without being able to get their business done ; that they are thus left helpless and ignorant of what is right or wrong ; not seldom overtaken by the law before they know that they have offended ; that the regulations against the overwhelming egress of the foreigners from the interior into the Colony are totally disregarded, so that strong armed parties of blacks are wandering over the country, squatting themselves on any property they please, plundering with impunity, and defying all threats, because the aggrieved are afraid of prosecution in case they resort to violence in defence of their lives and property ; that for extensive purchases of provisions ordered by your Excellency on account of the public during the late war, no payment can be obtained, notwithstanding repeated applications, whilst the creditors are exposed to the greatest difficulties for want of this payment.

“On the northern borders the feelings of the people are said to be worked up to a very great pitch on these points, and the murders committed on emigrants by Masilikatze’s people, as detailed by the annexed report of the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset with enclosure, will add to the ferment.

* * * * *

“I must bring to your Excellency’s notice the absolute necessity of some clear and explicit opinion on the part of the law authorities, as to the legitimate use of force by an armed body called together for such a purpose as the one under consideration, or by individuals in defence of life and property, as the doubt which exists on the

subject has led to extremes of a very pernicious character ; some decisions, evidently misunderstood, have generated that degree of fear for legal consequences that instances have occurred where robbers, actually found with the stolen property, have, by assuming a defensive attitude with arms in their hands, been left in possession and allowed to escape unmolested, because the pursuers or owners of the property were afraid of prosecution if they fired upon the criminal who thus threatened their lives ; so also have parties of foreigners set themselves down on private property or Government land, and defied all attempts to dislodge them, owing to the same cause. The difficulty of carrying the law into effect is thus self-evident, and the danger of leaving immense numbers of armed barbarians with no friendly feeling, in so exposed a country, in so bold and threatening an attitude aware of their advantage, is equally clear. I trust therefore that your Excellency may be able to cause the point to be settled beyond all danger of mistake.

* * * * *

“ Three other causes of excitement exist, viz., the non-payment of the Slave Compensation Claims, the vexatious conduct of the Apprentices, and the check upon the grazing of flocks beyond the Frontier. The former is beyond our control ; the second can only cease with the apprenticeship itself ; and the third is unjust towards the native tribes ; and if the others be removed, as I hope they will, these will soon be faintly heard, and at last die away.

“ I have, &c.,
(Signed) “ A. STOCKENSTROM.”

What a happy picture of the state of security, and peace, and

prosperity which the Colony enjoyed under the blessed rule of the idolised Sir B. D'Urban ! But let us go further still :—

“ Cradock, October 1, 1836.

“ To His Excellency the Governor,

“ SIR,—Since forwarding to your Excellency my Despatch dated 27th ult., I have received a report from the Assistant Civil Commissioner of Somerset, dated the 28th ult., which I have the honour to enclose, as illustrative of one of the main causes of the emigration of the farmers from the Colony.

“ Though we have not the means of preventing this movement by force, it is, nevertheless, of so much importance that I do not apologise for resuming the subject. In a letter addressed by me to the then Secretary of State, Mr. Spring Rice, on November 5, 1834, I not only predicted these migrations, but pointed out the evils to which they would lead. Such evils have already commenced, as, according to a letter to Colonel Somerset from Field-Cornet Erasmus, of which copy is enclosed, several of the emigrant families have been murdered, and in their defence killed a great number of the blacks. Blood having thus begun to flow in that quarter also, devastation will follow, and the reaction upon the Colony must be frightful. To enable the neighbouring tribes to leave us at peace, our people must positively remain within the limits of the Colony and not molest them ; but to keep our people within these limits, and to bring those back who have already left the Colony, no law or any other measure can avail, except giving them safety, and this can never be attained unless, as I had the honour of expressing to Lord Glenelg in my letter of January 7 last, ‘ the Colonists be allowed to protect their property and lives against plunderers and

marauders, even if it be necessary to shoot the assailants. This in the actual state of things cannot be prevented. The vacillating and contradictory doctrine which has been held forth on this point, rushing from one extreme to another, has been one of the main causes of our misfortunes. For some time to come, it will even be dangerous to allow the Kaffirs free access to the Colony, and where they are found armed, they can be no other than enemies, and dealt with accordingly.'

"Every hour's experience confirms this view. If the Colonists are safe on this side the Frontier, everything they suffer, if they trespass beyond it or injure the natives, they have only to thank themselves for; but without this protection to both parties, I must again and again repeat, it is useless to hope for peace.

"I presume, humbly but urgently, to press this case upon your Excellency's notice, and

"Have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

"Tomlinson on the Koonap,
"October 7, 1836.

"His Excellency the Governor,

"SIR,—I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter received by me from the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, dated 29th ult. I take the liberty to call your Excellency's attention to the following passage of the Civil Commissioner's letter as enclosed, viz., 'The losses which have been sustained by the people since the conclusion of the peace have been felt with peculiar severity.' This fully corresponds with the complaint of every farmer who has spoken to me. They positively declare that up to the present hour there has never been a week's successive tranquillity since the peace

was made; that the Fingoes and Kaffirs, since they have become British subjects, plunder worse than ever they did before the war; and that this state of insecurity is the main cause of the expatriation now in progress.

"I feel it a duty to all concerned to press this point particularly on your Excellency, and through you upon His Majesty's Secretary of State, for I certainly was led to believe, up to the period of my arrival among the people of all classes of these districts, that the system pursued since the conclusion of the peace was likely to be successful. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding on the subject, which I must take care to clear up, but as the post must close I have only time to conclude with my assurance of deep respect, and

"Have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

"October 11, 1836.

"His Excellency the Governor,

"SIR,—I have the honour, &c. * * * * The accompanying copy of a return of cases tried before the Resident Agent and Justice of the Peace, at Fort Murray, from the 1st to 31st of August, 1836, exhibits what we call the '*up-eating*' system. The thief (supposing the crime proved) is fined *five* for *one*, and let loose upon the community, after having perhaps paid away his last cow. He leaves the Province perfectly tranquil, but comes to the rear, which is very much open and exposed, and amply indemnifies himself out of the flocks of the farmers, who are, many of them, absolutely in a state of despair, being determined to emigrate from the Colony unless they be protected. They complain that, at the close of the war, the Kaffirs retained all Colonial property

then in their possession ; that such of their property as they retook during the war was seized by the Government and sold, or appropriated to the consumption of the forces ; that after the peace, as fast as they accumulated cattle, it was carried off by Fingoes and Kaffirs, so that they became destitute, and the Colony never enjoyed one week's tranquillity, whilst the Adelaide Province was kept quiet by an overwhelming force and the activity of Colonel Smith and his auxiliaries.

*

*

*

*

*

“ The next question is the feeling of the mass of the Kaffir nation on the subject of their relation as British subjects. With the exception of Pato and some of his followers, I believe nineteen out of twenty averse to our rule. The pleasure with which the withdrawal of the Posts in advance is viewed is one proof, and another serious one was afforded me by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset on the 8th instant. He brought to me on the Koonap the Chief Cobus Conga, who had stated to him, and then repeated to me, that it had been seriously intended to assassinate all the troops and other white people at the late meeting with Colonel Smith and myself at King William's Town, and that the attempt was only prevented by Umhala refusing his assent. Pato and Kama gave me the same information at Fort Peddie on the 10th, in receiving which, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that these Chiefs are very jealous of the Gaika tribe ; but that the Kaffirs, as a body, would go to any length to shake off our dominion very few people here doubt in the least.

“ It is painful to me to be obliged to enter into these details, but as it is the only channel through which my views can reach the Supreme Government, and as your Excellency is of opinion that the system acted upon

since the war has been working successfully, I feel it a duty I owe to myself and all those who have to act with me, to state facts which can at once be proved, and opinions in which I am supported by at least nine-tenths of the community, military and civil.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM.

"P.S. October 13.—I received late last night a letter from the Rev. W. Boyce, dated 10th inst., with the contents of which I think your Excellency should be made acquainted, as well as H.M.'s Secretary of State. I have the honour, therefore, to enclose it. It affords a picture not to be mistaken of the uneasiness of the Kaffirs under the system to which they are supposed to be so much attached. The Government cannot remove a commanding officer, or a post, or order an enquiry, without emboldening those who are endeavouring '*to prepare the people for war*;' and because food is scarce, and the rains do not fall early, it is not to be wondered at that '*a large proportion of the population are ready for war*, and anxiously expecting orders for its commencement.' Mr. Boyce, I have heard, is an excellent man, free from political bias, and as therefore his account must be correct, it strikes me that the allegiance of such subjects will be held by a very precarious tenure."

Then follows a full account of his dealing with the unfortunate Piet Retief.

"Graham's Town, May 25, 1837.

"SIR,

* * * * *

"I beg leave to state, without reference to any newspaper, but upon a full knowledge of my proceedings with respect to the said Retief, that I challenge the

slightest criticism of any part of those proceedings before any competent impartial tribunal, except the censure to which I have justly exposed myself for not dismissing him much sooner than I actually did. That he gave ample cause is clearly pointed out in my said Despatch, No. 135 ; and the only apology I have to offer for my laxity at a time when a serious example would have operated very beneficially, is also there adduced, viz., the poor man had the weakness to suppose that he could offend me individually, and that he had done so. I knew that he in his simplicity and ignorance had become the dupe of a set of designing miscreants, and I believed him reclaimable. He, I understand, is gone to where I hope those who have driven him and his companions from under British protection may be able to check their bloody career ; and your Excellency will, no doubt, feel it your indispensable, however disagreeable, duty to bring to the notice of the Supreme Government the dereliction of duty on my part to which you appear to point.

“I cannot, however, allow this correspondence to be transmitted to Downing Street without attempting to prove even to your Excellency that the course I did adopt in my correspondence with Retief was one from which nothing is likely to make me deviate.

“I shall be obliged to lead your Excellency into details which, perhaps, will not be quite agreeable ; but your Excellency’s observations extort them from me in my own defence ; and I once more repeat that I am responsible for my statements, and am fully aware of the weight of that responsibility.

“Your Excellency believes that our only resource for the prevention of the emigration of the Frontier farmers has been conciliation, persuasion, attention to all their

wants and necessities as far as that might be practicable ; and the assurance of our sympathy in their sufferings, and our utmost efforts to procure them relief.

“I most respectfully beg of your Excellency to point out one single instance in which any one of the above requirements has been neglected by me ; my Despatches, on the contrary, teem with representations of the many insupportable, unpardonable grievances of these farmers, which have contributed to render them the more susceptible of the impostures which have been passed off upon them, and given additional spur to that disposition to emigrate which raged long before your Excellency reached this Colony, which by Retief and many others was mainly attributed (next to the Slave Emancipation) to the late war, to the manner in which it was conducted and closed, and to the system which followed it, and which by the most disgraceful falsehoods had been attempted to be traced to the policy of the present Colonial Minister, whilst every one who has the least respect for truth will admit that emigration was in full progress before a syllable of that policy had transpired.

“Still, the charge implied in the passage from your Excellency’s Despatch, which I have above quoted, is a serious one, and I can only say in reply that the wants, necessities, and sufferings of my countrymen have engrossed my anxious solicitude during the greater part of my life ; that I had for many years charge of one of the most extensive and important districts in the Colony, and partly during a period when future scrutiny could not be expected ; that I have proofs and testimonials, of which I defy the refutation of high and low, Governors and governed ; that I did my duty ; that, finding that duty no longer available, I withdrew from the service, and was perfectly contented in my retirement, from

which I was again called without the slightest efforts on my part, at which I felt highly honoured, and shall ever feel grateful to that Government which considered me worthy of the distinction; that in order to prevent this resumption of office, 'the basest of calumnies, and the most palpable perjuries, backed by the assistance of public records in official keeping, was resorted to.'

"That these base proceedings were countenanced by men in authority, to whose machinations even the public revenue was made accessory—that for years every act of mine has been exposed to the uncontrolled research of those who have given the most indubitable proofs of their rancorous hostility—that upon all the said calumnies, perjuries, and machinations a species of cowardly insults was attempted to be founded—that the unhappy Retief and other functionaries hoped to gain certain objects by echoing that insult, and instead of being dismissed, as they deserved, were only reminded of their utter insignificance and folly, and forgiven; and that after wandering through that ocean of iniquity my accusers have failed, stand aghast with spite and disappointment, see that they may ruin a country in trying to ruin individuals without bettering themselves, and will, when properly unmasked, find themselves the objects of the scorn and contempt of every honest man.

"I feel that this is strong language, but the case demands it. Your Excellency cannot fail to perceive that I *am pushing matters to a crisis, and provoke inquiry, as promised in my Despatch, No. 39.* No more obscure hints and insinuations; no more dark underhand inquisitions under false pretences; no more hoarding up of perjured evidence in the Colonial Office, which may be drawn forward to tarnish a man's character when the means of defence shall have been lost;—direct, tangible

charges, an open, honest, and fair investigation, and the punishment of the guilty of whatever class and rank, and the acquittal of the innocent is what I demand, and what your Excellency's justice will bring about.

"I might indeed have soothed Retief and his associates with the promise that the slaves should not be free: that the 50th Ordinance should be repealed; that Kaffraria should be divided amongst the Colonists, the missionaries hanged, and the blacks extirpated.

"I should most likely have been overwhelmed with flattering addresses in return, but emigration would not have been checked for all that, and the end would have been ridicule and dishonour to myself. I fought for my countrymen, and should have readily exterminated their enemies when I saw them oppressed. I should do so again when necessary; but to countenance the robberies, murders, and frauds of the few, which I foresaw and foretold would bring the country to what it has become—to call that justice or policy which your Excellency has so correctly stigmatised as the contrary in your Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 28th October 1834, No. 38—is what no persecution or slander can compel me to do.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

In the next-quoted despatch of the 9th March, 1837, further grievances and hardships are set forth, showing the awful state of misrule which prevailed under the direct Government of the then Governor, Sir B. D'Urban. Most, if not all of these, will be new to the reader, especially to Frontier Colonists, who have, for want of the information now supplied to them, been under the impression that Sir B. D'Urban's Government of the

Colony was so triumphantly successful as to have secured for him the applause of all classes. Readers can now judge for themselves how far such ideas are correct.

“Graham’s Town, March 9, 1837.

“His Excellency the Governor,

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Excellency’s Despatch, No. 76, dated 17th ultimo, and have caused Mr. Stanley to be written to accordingly.

“I regret that any of my statements should appear to your Excellency as couched in too general terms, as the object that I have in view must show that I wish to be as specific as possible.

“That object I have no hesitation to admit to your Excellency is to resist and expose an apparently systematic combination existing in this Colony, by the grossest deceptions and misrepresentations to mislead the ignorant mass of the population as to the measures and views of the British Government, and equally to deceive that Government and the Legislature as to the feelings and complaints of the Colonists. On this subject my Despatches are so full that I shall here only express my anxious hope that a forwarding of a copy of that which refers to Mr. Stanley may not be delayed for his explanations.

“I hope that your Excellency will bear in mind that my communications to the Secretary of State can only through your Excellency’s hands: that you have therefore the fullest right and opportunity of commenting on the same. That your comments do never reach me,—that this circumstance, owing to so many of my views being disapproved of by your Excellency, is a very considerable disadvantage—and that it will be no more than a due compensation that my representations

reach Downing Street with every possible speed, as I hold myself responsible for every syllable I write.

“For the truth of Mr. Stanley’s statement I cannot vouch, and upon the act which he complains of I did not comment ; but that it is a matter of the serious complaint of many, and that the Secretary of State should know the fact, I humbly take leave to persist. As early as the 11th October last I had the honour to inform your Excellency by my Despatch, No. 21, not in general terms but pointedly, that the farmers complained, ‘that such of their property as they retained during the war was seized by the Government and sold, or appropriated to the consumption of the forces ; and to quote instances, I beg leave to state that on the 22nd of said month of October, a man named Thomas Sweetman, in a memorial now before me, protesting against the pressing of his oxen for the public service says — ‘The objections of memorialist to such a measure are, first, that during the late perfidious war, *the Government* (not the Kaffirs) seized upon the cattle of memorialist, being one hundred and twenty-seven, including thirty-four working oxen, and put them into the public herd at Mill’s River, and which are entirely lost to him at present.’

“Edward Gardener says, in a memorial of the 18th November, ‘that in or about the month of February 1832, memorialist’s cattle were sent by order of the authorities to the general herd at the Cattle Guard station at Mill River, from whence nine head of his said cattle were, with others, selected and taken away for slaughter, for the use of the Government, and for which memorialist has not received any payment or satisfaction whatever.’

“On the 2nd instant, a man appeared in this office, named Johannes Botman, whom I had known in good circumstances a few years ago. He was accompanied by

the late Field-Cornet Malan, who had just resigned to emigrate from the Colony. Botman asked for pecuniary assistance, and stated that he could not have a meal unless it was given him; that upward of five hundred cattle were taken from him and his sons by the Kaffirs during the late war; but that more than half that number had been retaken, and that if he could only have obtained fifty he might have recommenced farming; that all his efforts to recover the cattle so retaken were fruitless, and that even a single cow out of his own flock for slaughter, whilst he was absolutely destitute of food, was refused him, the whole being seized by the Government, kept in kraals, where numbers perished from want, numbers were consumed by the forces, and the remainder sold. I had trouble to restrain this man's feelings, whilst he exclaimed that the inhabitants felt this treatment from their protectors more than all they had suffered by the enemy. Malan confirmed all this, and protested that no occurrence had tended more to swell the number of emigrants.

"Yesterday the Field-Cornet Lombaard stated that numbers of farmers had become destitute by having been compelled, by threats of military punishment, when they might have kept possession of their flocks, to drive them by main force loose into the field away from the encampments: by which means those flocks became an easy prey to the rapacity of the Kaffir.

"I do not take upon myself to judge of any of these measures, but I repeat that in nine out of ten cases of loss by the late war, the sufferers felt more keenly against those measures than against the enemy.

"I have quoted the above instances merely to show the nature of the alleged grievances. There is hardly a day that I have not some such case before me. At this very

moment there are in this room two Draaiers, father and son, in the same predicament.

“With reference to the complaint of the ‘non-payment for Government purchases,’ I must submit with every deference that I am not satisfied ; that I have contented myself with ‘general terms.’ On the 27th September, by Despatch No. 15, I stated to your Excellency that the grievances existed. On the 18th November following, your Excellency noticed the subject in your Despatch No. 41, tracing the delay to something local or to the Audit Office. I immediately called upon the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset for an explanation. This officer stated that there was no unusual delay. Three months more elapsed, during which period many of the Government creditors suffered great distress, when said Civil Commissioner, being on the 9th ult., again asked what was done in the matter, states on the 16th that the only Treasury drafts for claims similar to those alluded to which had been received by him, were for Thompson, Cock, Leonard, Lucas, and Jarman. I have constant complaints on the subject, and the result is clearly pointed out by Mr. Hart in his letter, of which I had the honour of sending your Excellency a copy on the 7th October, under cover of my Despatch No. 91.

“Now, with all these facts before me, constantly harassed with never-ceasing complaints on the subject, knowing the real state of affairs, and the indisputable claim of the people for compensation which the British Government will not reject when it is properly explained, I should be guilty of gross dereliction of duty were I to leave your Excellency and the Supreme Government in the dark, and allow designing men to put their own interested construction on the state of the country and

its causes. Men actually stare at one another with astonishment (as Colonel Somerset justly observes) at the state of peace which we enjoy ; yet they are made to hate, fear, and fly from the Government (and hurry into destruction) which protects them by a regular system of delusion.

"Therefore, whatever the consequences may be to myself, nothing shall deter me from taking every opportunity to bring matters before your Excellency in their true, unvarnished colours.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

Nor was it to the Governor and the Secretary of State alone that he held the language and principles so clearly and emphatically expressed in the foregoing Despatches. How truly he sympathised with the Colonists in all their troubles and grievances ; how ready he was to listen to all, provided only he believed they were truthful and sincere ; how ready he was to defend and protect them from slander and calumny, as he had again and again done as regarded the masses of the Colonists in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, where he had in the most emphatic terms declared that in no country under the sun could there be found a more loyal, more peaceable, more tractable and excellent community ; attributing all that he found so debasing and so bad on the Frontier to the systems of Government which had prevailed from 1819 to 1836 ; the evils of which systems, with the crimes to which they led, he so unsparingly unmasked ; how anxious he was to lead them aright may be judged from the following *private note* addressed to one of the old Field-Cornets, himself, as will be remembered, a humane man, who treated the wild Bushmen with the greatest kindness. The original being in Dutch, it is only possible to present to the reader the following translation :—

"Graham's Town, September 27, 1837.

"Field-Cornet N.F. Van der Walt,

"DEAR SIR, AND FRIEND,—“Since I sent you my reply to yours of the 31st ult., I have received another request, in which I find your name. The contents differ widely from the aforesaid letter, and I therefore doubt whether you have fully understood the same. Some expressions therein prevent my replying thereto; but this I can tell *you*, from the interest which I shall always take in the lot of yourself and of many whose names are to be found in that request, that nothing which you can do can ever diminish my zeal for your welfare, or prevent me from unceasingly framing measures for procuring to you, under the blessing of Providence, peace, rest, and prosperity; but that at the same time no power or compulsion in the world shall turn me aside from doing what my conscience tells me is right and just.

“I know that the expressions in your letter proceed from a sincere heart, and, therefore I know that you will take advice, and I write to you with pleasure. If anything appears dark to you, do not rely on me. Look to a Power higher than human, without Whose will nothing can happen. Bring forward your complaints and difficulties as often and as strongly as you will; but I pray you once again, with a voice to which you have listened for nearly thirty years, think well before you decide.

“I am still, your attached friend,

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.”

Enough has been quoted to give the reader a slight insight into some of the difficulties which beset the path of the Lieut.-Governor.

It will scarcely be believed that, urgently as he had in almost every Despatch begged that his views might be conveyed with-

out delay to the Supreme Government, with whom he could only correspond through the Governor, His Excellency was pleased to withhold them, as the following extract from Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir George Napier, dated November 13, 1837, will show :—

“ Downing Street, November 13, 1837.

“ SIR,—I have the honour, &c. * * * *

“ Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom quitted this country in the month of April, 1836, and appears to have arrived at Cape Town in the following month of June, or at the commencement of July. On the 4th July, 1836, he was in Cape Town, and in correspondence with the Governor. By the 1st of September he had arrived at Uitenhage. It was not, however, till twelve months after the Lieut.-Governor's arrival in the Colony that I received any report of any part of his proceedings, or the copy of any part of his correspondence with Sir Benjamin D'Urban. On the 20th June, 1837, the Governor's Despatch No. 22, of the 15th March in the present year, reached this office. It enclosed copies of one hundred and twenty-five Despatches, which had passed between himself and the Lieut.-Governor. Of these the most recent was dated the 28th December, 1836.

“ On the 9th October, I received Sir B. D'Urban's Despatch No. 47, of the 29th July. It enclosed his correspondence with the Lieut.-Governor from the 2nd January to the 30th March in the present year, comprising one hundred and twenty Despatches. Thus the two series of communications on the affairs of the Eastern Frontier, which have hitherto come to my hands, embrace two hundred and forty-five Despatches.

* * * * *

“ I have entered into the preceding statements, not merely with the view already explained, but in order

that I might convey to Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom information which he had the highest title to require from me. It is with sincere concern that I think of the mortification to which that meritorious officer must long have been subjected, by what must have appeared an unaccountable neglect on my part of his anxious and zealous labours in the very arduous post assigned to him. I perceive in his Despatches to the late Governor earnest and repeated solicitations that they might be communicated to me with the utmost possible promptitude, accompanied by many strong appeals to me for support. The present, however, is the *first* communication which he will receive, although before it can reach him he will have been for nearly eighteen months in the administration of his office. * * *

“Without undertaking to vindicate every passage of the Lieut.-Governor's Despatches, or dwelling on the extenuations which might be offered for some few expressions of incautious warmth, I must pronounce the general tenour of his communications highly honourable to his diligence, to his resolution, to his discernment, and to his humanity. Placed in a critical position, the inherent difficulties of which have in this instance been aggravated by peculiar circumstances, he has been called to the exercise of no ordinary qualities, both moral and intellectual, and his proceedings taken as a whole appear to me fully to justify his appointment to the arduous station which he fills, and to entitle him to the assurance of the respect and confidence of His Majesty's Government.

* * * * *

“It is needless to enquire whether Sir B. D'Urban judged rightly in surrendering the Province of Adelaide without making the report for which I called in my

Despatch of the 25th December, 1835, and awaiting the
superior instructions which I proposed to found on that
report. * * *

(Signed) "GLENELG."

The Despatch from which these quotations are made covers
thirty-five foolscap folios, and is throughout couched in terms of
the strongest approval of the Lieutenant-Governor's administra-
tion of his Province, most deeply interesting in every paragraph.
The reader will judge for himself whether the withholding for
twelve months from the Secretary of State of such important
Despatches was consistent with the position, the dignity, the
honour, to say nothing of the *duty*, of the "*good* Sir B. D'Urban."
Some of the further difficulties of the unfortunate Lieutenant-
Governor will be shown in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1836-1837.

1836. Introduction of Glenelg System—*Résumé* of State of Affairs—State of Parties—Of Frontier—Of Kaffirs—Submits Programme of his Plans—Reports Discussion with Kaffir Chiefs—Details—Colonel Somerset reports Tranquillity—*Précis* of Treaty—Instructions and Regulations—First Annual Report on Frontier under Glenelg System—Reports Umhala's Visit to Graham's Town.

WE now come to the consideration of the chief work which was entrusted to the Lieutenant-Governor ; viz., the introduction of the Glenelg system with the Kaffir tribes : a system which had for its foundation the equal rights of white and black, and aimed at the establishment of a permanent fixed boundary. It must here be mentioned that the Governor had already instructed the Lieutenant-Governor to proceed to introduce these measures according to the instructions which he had received from the Secretary of State.

The principles of the Glenelg policy will be found amply set forth in the following despatch addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor to Sir B. D'Urban on November 3, 1836.

"SIR,—I believe that notwithstanding the few hours I had to answer your Excellency's Despatches Nos. 25 and 27, of the 13th and 21st ultimo, I touched upon every comment therein contained in mine of the 28th (No. 36) ; but as the manner in which you have received and viewed my proceedings must afford matter of serious consideration to His Majesty's Secretary of State, and originate doubts as to the utility of my continued

administration of the affairs of this Division, I owe it to myself and my employers to lay before the latter a review of the position in which I have been placed, and the course I have pursued since my official return to the Colony.

“If any of my statements shall, from the notoriety of the facts they adduce, appear supererogatory to your Excellency, I beg of you to bear in mind that they are more especially intended for the consideration of the Colonial Minister, whom I can only address through you.

“It is with unfeigned regret that I must commence by admitting that I had hardly landed on my native shores before I found that the policy which said Minister was supposed to be pursuing with reference to our Frontier relations was most unpopular, and none of them more so than my appointment to administer those relations and the affairs of the Eastern half of the Colony generally.

“It was with no small degree of humiliation that I found the same public prints, which were incessantly overwhelming the local Government with such fulsome adulation as I am confident disgusted its objects, but which betrayed the ignorant mass into the belief that those prints were in the interest of that Government, at the same time employed in vilifying the Supreme Authority and all those who were suspected of coinciding with its views, in rendering them obnoxious to the community by the most malicious misrepresentations of their measures, and in spreading discontent and disaffection into the remotest nooks of the country ; whilst I, to whose lot had fallen the duty of carrying these measures into effect, was assured upon authority upon which I can implicitly rely (and upon which I *shall* rely when my paramount official duties shall leave me time

to look to my private grievances) that the basest of calumnies and the most palpable perjuries, backed by the assistance of public records in official keeping, had been resorted to, to brand me with infamy if possible, and to excite the multitude against me, with a view to dissuading the Government from employing me in the execution of its plans, or deterring me from undertaking the charge.

“However discouraging this aspect of affairs may have appeared to me at first sight, my own determination to make head against the torrent whatever its strength—added to your Excellency’s kind assurance of your cordial support—made all obstacles dwindle into insignificance ; and though my views as to the line of policy best adapted with reference to the Kaffirs had been and were at variance with those entertained and acted upon by your Excellency, still as your Excellency was under the impression that the system which you had adopted, ‘if persevered in, would ultimately combine the security of the Colonial border with the civilisation and happiness of the native tribes, and that it had proved successful beyond your most sanguine expectations,’ I at once made up my mind to give this system my fullest co-operation, at least until His Majesty’s Government should have come to a final decision thereon.

“With this resolution I proceeded on my journey to the Eastern District ; but certainly considering the success of your Excellency’s system, ‘beyond your most sanguine expectations,’ to imply not only the quiescence of the Adelaide Province for the time being under the control of a powerful military force, but also the entire tranquillity of the Colonial Frontier Division, the contentment of the majority of His Majesty’s old as well

as new subjects, and a belief on the part of at least some of those, whose experience enabled them to judge, and with whose assistance I should have to give effect to whatever plan should be decided on, that the said system was working successfully, and was likely to be permanently beneficial.

“On the road, however, I was not a little surprised to learn from some individuals well acquainted with the affairs of the Frontier, that the community did not generally see safety in the then present state of things, as the newspapers would make those who had no other channel of information believe; and that many dreaded that the Kaffirs would not, and some even believed that they *could* not, long remain quiet.

“On reaching Uitenhage, I found that from one of the most opulent parts of that District, the Oliphants Hoek, the farmers were preparing to emigrate, principally because they feared that their new fellow-subjects would take advantage of the exposed state of the old frontier, rush into the Colony, and spread devastation far and wide before the troops from the new province could come to their assistance; and in Graham’s Town I at once saw that nobody was contented, except those who were deriving, or had derived, pecuniary advantage from the actual state of things. Some of those, indeed, who had absorbed the greatest proportion of the half million which had been expended since the commencement of the war, as well as their various connections, thought proper to show their approbation of that which had enriched them, by an impotent attempt at an insult upon His Majesty’s representative, who they dreaded was likely to put a period to their rich harvest; but the farmers, upon whom the burden had fallen, from all sides complained that their misfortunes had never ceased for one week at a

time since the war; that their new fellow-subjects, Fingoes as well as Kaffirs, had plundered them of the little they had saved out of that catastrophe, or gathered after it; that the possession of the Kaffir Territory by the Fingoes would lead to war between them and with us, and that unless some better mode of protection could be adopted, they must all fly from the Colony.

"I do not consider it proper to quote the unofficial opinions of various persons of experience and authority, but the relative positions of Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset and myself justifies my naming him, and to which he does not object, as one who was firmly convinced that matters could not be safely allowed to go on as they were then doing; and to prove to your Excellency (notwithstanding the unimpeachable veracity of the military and civil officers from whom you derived your information) that you were altogether mistaken when you believed that no thefts took place since the peace was made previous to last August; and still more when you attributed those which took place in that month and since to 'the publicity of the intended renunciation of the new territory, the summoning of Colonel Smith to attend a Court of Enquiry at Fort Wilshire, and the actual change in the administration of the Border provinces then carrying into execution.' I enclose Sub. No. 1, a return, signed by the Agent-General, of depredations as far as they can be traced to have been perpetrated since the beginning of the present year: thus long before either of the said supposed exciting causes could possibly have operated, and the perfect indifference with which they are all three now already viewed must satisfy us that they at no time possessed any real interest.

"The said return corroborates not only the assertion made by the Civil Commissioner of Albany, as quoted

in my Despatch to your Excellency dated 7th ult., No. 20, viz., that 'the losses which have been sustained by the people since the conclusion of the peace have been felt with peculiar severity,' but also the repeated assurances of Colonel Somerset and Captain Armstrong, and the complaints of all the Field-Cornets and great numbers of the inhabitants.

"That attempts were made to create a particular degree of excitement, or bring about a renewal of hostilities and still freer circulation of treasure at the crisis to which your Excellency traces the commencement of the thefts, I cannot, however, deny. I was informed that reports were abroad that the Kaffirs were going to hold *public meetings* to remonstrate against the removal of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and the renunciation of the new Province, and that the Hottentots belonging to the provisional Corps were determined to go off in a body as soon as that officer should depart. There is also every reason to believe that the alarm, which soon followed after this departure, was part of the plot; but the whole proved a miserable failure. The Kaffirs *never remonstrated*. A few words restrained the natural wish of the Hottentots to return to their homes, unconnected with any bias for or against any commander, and the country on both sides of the old Frontier has never been known to be quieter than it has been since that alarm.

"From Graham's Town I proceeded to the Adelaide province, which was tranquil owing to the activity and ability of an experienced officer at the head of an overwhelming force, ably supported by those serving under him, both civil and military, and amply supplied with the means of conciliation in the shape of presents to the native Chiefs and otherwise. But I solemnly declare

that I saw nothing that promised the ultimate success of the plan we were pursuing—after a most impressive speech on the part of the said commander at his last interview with the Kaffirs (before any conference with me could possibly have ‘fostered the aspirations of the Chiefs,’ as your Excellency fears, as I had not spoken or conveyed a single word to any one of them since my return to the Colony), Macomo at once showed his dissatisfaction by demanding restitution of the country from which he had been expelled, and complained of the supercession of the power of the Chiefs. His brother Tjali followed, by requiring the free exercise of their customs connected with witchcraft; and of the thousand and more Kaffirs present not a single dissentient voice was raised against all these demands, which three-fourths of them at least would have echoed.

“Instead of finding British law in force, particularly in the most important and frequent point of theft, I saw the worst part of the Kaffir law adopted, viz., that of ‘eating-up,’ as pointed out in my Despatch No. 21, dated 21st ult; witchcraft not suppressed, another essential part of ‘*the treaties*,’ could not be enforced; and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith as well as every one of the agents unhesitatingly declared, that without military law their efforts would be altogether paralysed; nor have I been able to find one single individual, with the exception of said Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, who believed it possible to undermine the power of the Kaffir Chiefs, and at the same time keep the nation in subjection and order, without a force far beyond what even now we have at our disposal; or to keep a permanent hold upon the nation at all except through their Chiefs. It appears, by your Excellency’s ‘confidential Notes and Memorandum of the 17th September, 1835,’ that you

thought that matters might be so arranged that 'the Chiefs would at length find, before they were aware of it, their supreme power dissipated and divided.' The truth is, they suspected the design before your Excellency penned the Memorandum, and saw the commencement of the trial as soon as we did, and determined to resist it. It could not but fail without means, the expense of which the object in view would not justify.

"After the above interview I most certainly have had several conferences with the Kaffir Chiefs, as in duty bound, and if I have 'fostered their aspirations,' I have also rendered them more tractable by inspiring them with confidence in the King's justice and humanity. If they talked of the death of Hintza, I could remind them that 'peace was made, and war must be forgotten.' When they asked, 'How should you like to be turned out of your land, and see it given to your slaves who had plundered you; would you not fight for it to the last man?' I could explain to them that fighting would only bring us all to the Bashee at last; but that patience and peace would enable the King of England to satisfy all parties. When they insisted upon the removal of the 'armed kraals,' (military posts), I could tell them, 'Show us first that you can be quiet without these kraals.'

"My conferences with the Hottentots provisionally employed on military duty also take place whenever they request it; a few reasonable words at once reconcile them to their protracted detention: and the result is that Colonel England, for whose able co-operation, as well as that of all the military on the Frontier, I shall be ever grateful, with half the force which he found here, without presents or martial law, has the province as tranquil as it ever was, either as Kaffir or British territory, though at least one-half of the nation wants food.

“ At the same time those conferences and many other sources of information convinced me of what I have often repeated, that the Kaffirs are quiet only because they expect a change, and because they are not quite recovered from the shock which they received by the late war. The feeling existing beyond the Key with reference to the death of Hintza, the emigration of the Fingoes with the cattle of the Kaffirs, and their occupation of part of Gaika's territory, would ensure powerful support to Macomo from that quarter.

“ That British law cannot be enforced among the Kaffirs I am certain of, as much as that the nation is against it. In support of this I have opportunely received a copy of a correspondence between Captain Armstrong and Captain Bain, who, I am confident, are included in the number of officers of unimpeachable veracity alluded to by your Excellency, and which correspondence I enclose, Sub. No. 2, to show that the latter, who is a man of sense and experience, is of opinion ‘that the premature adoption of British laws among the Kaffir tribes will certainly be the cause of much bloodshed, turmoil, and never-ending disputes;’ as also to support my position that the close neighbourhood of the Fingoes and Kaffirs will be a source of great trouble and anxiety to us and themselves, if not of war. With these views then, in which I am every day more and more confirmed, and knowing that the Kaffirs could at any time between dusk and midnight march from the eastern banks of the Keiskama into the Fish River Bush, sacrifice hundreds before morning, and carry destruction to the Sundays River before the troops from the new Province could come to the assistance of the old Colony, I at once resolved, even if the Secretary of State should determine to retain the new territory, only

to keep military possession of it, by the occupation of one or two important positions, and to make the Fish and Kat Rivers the principal line of defence for the protection of the old Colonists. Accordingly, Forts Warden, Wellington, Beresford, Waterloo, and Montgomery Williams were successively withdrawn, and a fort established at Frazer's Camp, another on the Kat River, and a third on the Comtees, as stated in my Despatches Nos. 10, 12, and 21, which movements, though they bore in your Excellency's estimation the air of a panic, had the effect of putting a stop to one—defeating the objects of the plot formerly adverted to—disappointing those who pant for war and money—and rendering the old Province as tranquil as the new.

“These arrangements, I believe, I was fully authorised by my instructions to make on my own responsibility; and it is with the utmost pain that I must state my apprehension that your Excellency's ordering the re-occupation of Fort Montgomery Williams can, besides the expense of transport and the fatigue of the troops, have no other effect than to show the public that I have not your Excellency's support, and to encourage the evil-disposed to redouble their efforts to mislead the ignorant, and if possible, to thwart the measures which I must pursue in compliance with His Majesty's commands.

“About the state in which I found the more northern part of the Eastern Division, I shall not trouble the Minister with any repetition; but merely referring to my Despatches Nos. 15, 16, and 34, on that subject, I shall now, since the renunciation of the allegiance and territory of the Kaffirs is determined on, proceed to state my views as to the course to be adopted in giving effect to the instructions with which his Lordship has honoured

me ; but as these views are the result of the most anxious deliberation, and as the treaties into which I am going to enter, and the enactments which I shall frame, and transmit to your Excellency in Council for ratification and enactment will be regulated by the same, I deem it essential that your Excellency should at once be in possession of them ; for as I see no safety or justice in any other course, and believe them consistent with the views of the Home Government, I should by far prefer any other sacrifice to that of receding from any of the main principles which I have laid down.

“Commencing with the boundary line between the Colony and the country to be given up, I shall strictly insist on that agreed upon between Lord Charles Somerset and Gaika in 1819—‘as corresponding’ (to borrow the Secretary of State’s own words from his Despatch No. 2, addressed to me on the 5th February last) ‘with the limits by which the British Dominions were defined at the commencement of the late contest.’

“In the restoration to the Kaffirs of the territory beyond this line, it will be easy to assign to each tribe its own proper limits, as they will revert to those which existed before the war, being very ill satisfied with those since marked out by us.

“As this restitution will bring the Fingoes, which are located in the valley of the Gaga and higher up the Chumie, under the dominion of the Kaffirs, it must be left to those who think proper to do so to depart with their property unmolested to be located in the ceded territory, as sanctioned by Lord Glenelg in his Despatch to Your Excellency, No. 28, dated 26th December last ; for though many of these Fingoes have gone and are going back to the country from whence they were brought, we have no right to abandon those who may

be still afraid to expose themselves to the vengeance or cruelty of the Kaffirs. The neighbourhood of Fort Peddie, where some of these tribes are already settled, seems most eligible for the location of all those who choose to continue under our protection.

“The next point to which I must refer is the western limit of the ceded territory, after deducting that part which is already lawfully occupied by old Colonists. This is clearly pointed out by the Secretary of State’s Despatch to Your Excellency, dated 29th March last, No. 47, with its enclosure ; but the disposal of this territory constitutes an important feature in the measures now to be adopted.

“In my letter of the 7th January last, I had the honour of proposing to the Right Honourable Secretary to settle there as dense a population as possible in villages upon the same principle as the New Hottentot settlement (the advantages of which were fully demonstrated during the late contest), modified according to circumstances ; but his Lordship’s uncanceled order of the 26th December, above quoted, to which I am specially referred for my guidance, directs that *only Kaffirs, including Fingoes*, shall occupy the territory ; for ‘those Hottentots who were placed in the ceded territory prior to the late war’ are in the parts above described as deducted. If such a dense Colonial population as above proposed were settled in said territory up to the banks of the Keyskama, the Kaffirs might have been kept out of the same, and the said river would of course constitute our line of military defence ; but if Kaffirs are to occupy that territory (to the justice and wisdom of which I fully assent, if done upon safe principles), I repeat that to have the troops on the Keyskama, and leave the Fish River exposed, is abandoning the Colonists to their fate.

“That the Kaffirs can get into the Fish River when they please, in defiance of all posts, is proved, and that it is better for themselves and for us that they should be domesticated there, be living there with their families and property, so as to have something valuable at stake on the spot, than that they should be there secretly as warriors, or as an enemy, and attack when they please, no one can entertain the least doubt; but to have them between the troops and the country to be defended, appears to me, with every deference to superior professional judgment, rather an injudicious arrangement.

“That Lord Glenelg, after deciding that the dense population which I had proposed should not occupy the said territory, at once made up his mind to have Kaffirs there, is very natural; for isolated farms or a thin population could never be safe in that country, and would be an endless source of contention.

“The Kaffirs whom I will place there are of course those who were driven out of it, as they would necessarily let nobody live there in peace; and they will have the free exercise of their laws. We must either have extermination or conciliation and justice: a middle course is ruin.

“I shall not at present trouble Your Excellency with the details of the treaties to be entered into ‘with the Chief of every tribe, to which a portion of said territory is to be assigned,’ as required in a clause, Sub No. 2, of Lord Glenelg’s Despatch of the 26th December last, so often quoted, beyond stating that reprisals by military force shall not be allowed. Responsible Kaffir authorities to be resident on the Eastern side of the Frontier, as we have our posts on the West. We to obtain redress from their councils, as they would through our courts of

Justice. A Colonist to have no more right to cross the boundary eastward without the consent of the Kaffir Chiefs, than a Kaffir has to cross it westward without our consent. Colonists beyond the said boundary to be as fully subject to Kaffir law, as a Kaffir in the Colony would be to ours. A Colonist found there stealing cattle or committing any other crime, if he cannot be otherwise taken, to meet with the same fate which a Kaffir under similar circumstances would meet with in the Colony, viz., death. Our agents to be no longer magistrates, but ministers or consuls. Through them satisfaction to be obtained from us and for us. They will collect the proofs of losses caused by Kaffir depredations, and demand compensation in the proper quarter, as well as watch over the interests of British subjects, permitted by the Kaffirs to be amongst them, and they will also secure redress for Kaffirs injured by Colonists. In short, I do not intend to exact anything from the Kaffirs that I do not believe the Colony prepared to grant reciprocally.

“Thus to refer once more to Your Excellency’s Despatch, No. 25.

“1. The protection and integrity of our own border, its inhabitants, and their property, will be secured as far as I can do so.

“2. The missionaries do not believe that they have the least thing to dread, but will be included in the treaties.

“3. The British trader will stand with reference to the Kaffirs as long as he is amongst them, as he would stand in any civilized country with reference to the people of such country. His rights will be protected by our agents, who will not protect him in a breach of the Kaffir laws.

"4. The Fingoes who leave the Kaffir territory will have to be located under protection of Fort Peddie. Of this people I said to the Secretary of State, in my above quoted letter of the 7th January last, 'I could wish them safe away a couple of hundred miles further westward from the reach of the Kaffirs, to whom they will long be a source of heartburning.' And they are indeed at present a stumbling-block in the settlement of our Frontier affairs. The Colonists are long since undeceived as to their value as servants, or as a means of protection, and bitterly complain of them; and the Kaffirs being determined not to let them live *as an independent body* on what they call their own ground, are ready to fall upon them as soon as they get out of our sight. Still we cannot forsake them, and they will form an important question in the treaties.

"5. Pato, Kama, and Cobus have no other fear than that the cattle which they as neutrals received in trust from the hostile Kaffirs, during the war, and after peace refused to restore, will be demanded from them by the lawful owners. We must, however, provide for their tranquillity.

"6. Sutu and her son, Sandilli, are not under the slightest apprehension of danger. Matua and Trista and theirs fear as little. Nonube and his son, Swanie, and theirs, as well as Umgakie and his family, are in the same predicament as Pato and his brothers; and Jan Tjatyoe's family only want King William's Town and its vicinity (their old location). Not one of these wish to keep a single *soldier or magistrate*, but are very anxious to have agents and missionaries. I shall nevertheless treat in their behalf also.

"7. For peace among the tribes themselves; but their proceedings under the pretence of witchcraft' we must

leave to time, to their teachers, and to civilization. To make it a matter of treaty must expose such treaty to disregard and contempt, or involve us in quarrels, which may lead to war. Everything except coercion will succeed, though slowly. I have shown in my Despatch of last week, No. 30, that Colonel Smith with 1,300 men could not prevent those horrible proceedings. Having got so far I am honoured with Your Excellency's Despatch No. 20, dated 25th ultimo, also connected with the subject hereof.

"I am decidedly of opinion that the boundary of the Colony ought in every respect to be restored to what it was before the late Kaffir war. If I could see a chance that the extension of the north-eastern border up to the Gray's River could put a stop to encroachments, I should readily concede the point ; but the farmers are scattered far beyond it, and Government would have to follow indefinitely, and I think a firm stand at once the only remedy.

"With reference to the concluding paragraph of your Excellency's said Despatch No. 20, I have the honour to admit that I was at a loss how to consider Mapassa and his people. I found by proclamation of the 10th May 1835, their country declared British territory, in consequence of a war in which they had no share ; that on the 22nd October following, Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset made some proposals to Mapassa, offering him to receive him and his said tribe under the British protection, within his said country, to which the said Mapassa replied that he is under the Government, 'and without British protection he is to-day a dead man.' It was not easy to decide whether this constituted him and his people British subjects ; but I found a British Officer administering the law amongst them, or as it is called

‘eating them up.’ If they were not British subjects this jurisdiction was illegal.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

(Signed) “ A. STOCKENSTROM.”

Having met the Kaffir Chiefs, and discussed the whole matter of the new Frontier system with them, the Lieutenant-Governor addressed the following Despatches to His Excellency the Governor. They require no comment, and are as follows :—

“ Fort Peddie, December 8, 1836.

“ SIR,—Having completed my preliminary discussions with the several Kaffir Chiefs as to the basis upon which I was disposed to treat with them in compliance with the instructions of His Majesty’s Government, I appointed them to meet me, with their principal councillors, at King William’s Town on the first instant.

“ When they were assembled, I pointed out to them the necessity of their settling among themselves the differences which existed between them, particularly those engendered by the part which the several tribes had taken in the late war with the Colony, in order to prevent disturbances in Kaffraria following their emancipation from British Dominion.

“ The discussions between the said Chiefs lasted during the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd inst., and were of the most animated nature, but concluded most satisfactorily ; so that all parties declared themselves most cordially reconciled and satisfied, promising solemnly to maintain peace and tranquillity.

“ As I could not enter into treaties on behalf of His Majesty with His Majesty’s own subjects, it became indispensable that I should first renounce His Majesty’s

dominion over their territory, and absolve them from their allegiance, which I did by Proclamation, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy. I then proceeded to conclude the Articles of Convention to which the Chiefs were prepared to agree, and which I believe consistent with the commands of His Majesty's Secretary of State. Of those entered into with the Gaika tribe I have the honour to enclose a copy for the consideration of Your Excellency in Council and of His Majesty's Government. Those entered into with the other tribes shall be transmitted as soon as copies can be prepared, though I may here premise that in principle they are the same, and in detail hardly differ.

"I have the honour to add that the Military authorities are using every exertion to expedite the withdrawal of the troops from Kaffraria.

"The regulations which I have been ordered by my instructions to frame in connection with the said treaties, I shall prepare and transmit as soon as possible; in the meantime I shall proceed to fix the limits of the several portions of the ceded territory, as they are to be occupied by the respective tribes of Kaffirs and Fingoes; then enter into a treaty with the latter people, and next with the Tambookies.

"As I consider one agent for the tribe of Gaika, and another for those of Slambie and Conga, together with the Fingoes, quite sufficient, and as I intend for that purpose continuing Messrs. Stretch and Bowker in their present employ, the agencies of Messrs. Rawstorne and Southey may be abolished at the end of the present year. On the other hand, a confidential agent on the part of Government among the Tambookies, and another among the tribes of Hintza being very necessary, as the means of keeping up peaceable relations with the tribes

in the interior, I propose to employ for that purpose the two brothers Fynn, who are now in the service of the Government, have passed the greatest part of their lives among the natives of the interior, know their language and customs, speak the Kaffir language perfectly, and are strongly recommended as trustworthy, respectable men. That an agent is as necessary among the Tambookies on the North-Eastern border as here among the Kaffirs, the Secretary of State will at once see. Indeed, from the absence of military checks in the former quarter, the mutual aggressions of Colonists and borderers call more imperiously for such surveillance, and I have no doubt that his Lordship will also agree that an intelligent agent beyond the Key, keeping Hintza's tribe, and those beyond, in our interest, would operate as an additional security for the pacific conduct of the tribes nearer to us, enables us to counteract the machinations of those evil-disposed men who have an interest in exciting the natives to war and bloodshed among themselves, give us timely warning of any combinations brewing against the Colony, and afford us the means of promoting peace and civilization in various ways. For such a service the two Fynns seem peculiarly adapted, and their habits of life enable them to accept the charge for a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds each per annum.

"In conclusion, I have the satisfaction to state that notwithstanding the changes in progress, the Kaffir Frontier continues in the most perfect state of tranquillity, as appears by the enclosed copy of a report from Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, to which I am authorized to add the unqualified confirmation of Lieut.-Colonel England.

"The Kaffir Chiefs, after signing the treaties, expressed their warmest thanks to His Majesty for the restoration

of their independence, laws, and territory, and parted apparently very happy.

“I have, &c.,
(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.”

“Fort Peddie, December 8, 1836.

“To His Excellency the Governor,

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency’s Despatches, No. 43, of the 21st ult., and am by incessant occupation compelled for the present to confine my reply to informing Your Excellency—

“1st. That I hope the Treaty, of which I had the honour to transmit a copy this day, will show that I do not propose to renounce all right on the part of the British Crown to any part of the ceded territory.

“2nd. That on re-perusing my Despatches, I trust Your Excellency will find my position to be this: ‘that to have the troops,’ that is, half-a-dozen of posts with our main force on the Keiskamma line, ‘with the Kaffirs between that line and the country to be defended, was an injudicious military arrangement, and a waste of our strength’; that, nevertheless, it might be indispensable to have one or two advanced posts as heretofore, ‘only because we have incurred obligations towards the Fingoes and some tribe of Kaffirs.’ Your Excellency will also observe that in my confidential Despatch of the 18th ult. I clearly state that the necessity can only last as long as those obligations operate, which I hope will not be long. It will also appear to Your Excellency upon that re-perusal, that I did not intend to retain Fort Thompson as a military post, but only as an agency station after the Fingoes shall be removed; and Your Excellency will, upon reflection, remember that there will be no Kaffirs between Fort Beaufort and the country to

be defended. I trust, therefore, that it will no longer appear to Your Excellency conflicting that 'my precise intentions as to the distribution and occupation of the country,' and what I have throughout been most anxious to convey to Your Excellency, viz., 'to defend that line,' which will embrace the whole of that country on the Kaffir borders, which Lord Glenelg in his Despatch to Your Excellency, No. 47, dated 29th of March last, allows to be occupied by British Colonial subjects, that is, the ridge bounding the Kat River locations as far as Fort Beaufort, thence the Kat River to its junction with the Fish River, and thence the latter to the sea, with Forts Wilshire and Peddie in advance, as long as our obligations to the Fingoes and some Kaffir tribes require such a check upon other tribes.'

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

The following is an outline or *précis* of the Treaty between the Lieutenant-Governor, as representing the King, and the Kaffir Chiefs of the tribe of Gaika, being Sandilli, represented by his mother, Sutu, Macomo, Tjali, Botmá, and Enno, in presence of Hougham Hudson, Agent-General, C. L. Stretch, John Mitford Bowker, and Richard Southey, Resident Agents of the Kaffir tribes:—

Art. 1.—Contains declaration of peace and amity, and affirmation by both parties of abiding by these treaties.

Art. 2.—Fixes the boundary as the same was defined by Lord C. Somerset in 1819.

Art. 3.—The Kaffir Chiefs acknowledge British sovereignty over the country to the west of said line.

Art. 4.—The Chiefs accept as a special mark of grace and favour as a loan, such parts of the ceded territory as may be allotted to them, and on such terms as are comprised in this Treaty.

Art. 5.—Provides that map showing said allotments shall be framed and annexed to the Treaty.

Art. 6.—Kaffir law, with certain restrictions, to be exercised by the said Chiefs in said territory.

Art. 7.—Reserves to the British Government the right to establish military posts in said territory, with free communication with same, but forbids patrolling or scouring of said country.

Art. 8.—Fixes the limit of British territory.

Art. 9.—No Kaffir or British subject to cross said line without permission, and under restrictions specified in clauses 14 and 21, except the military occupying posts.

Art. 10.—The Kaffir Chiefs to guard the said border by means of resident Amapakati.

Art. 11.—The Government to place resident agents near the residences of the principal Chiefs.

Art. 12.—All representations and complaints to be made through these diplomatic agents.

Art. 13.—Provides for free access to the agents, and the enrolment and employment of Kaffir police.

Art. 14.—British subjects crossing boundary to communicate with agents must be provided with pass from Officer commanding nearest post, and must be unarmed.

Art. 15.—Excepts military belonging to posts.

Art. 16.—British subjects crossing line under other circumstances must obtain consent of Chiefs, and will be subject to Kaffir law while in Kaffir territory.

Art. 17.—Kaffir traders not to enter said territory without consent of Chiefs, and to be under special protection of Chiefs.

Art. 18.—Secures free access to all Harbours on the coast, the landing of goods and supplies, and safety in case of shipwreck.

Art. 19.—British subjects when charged with commis-

sion of crime, or misdeameanour in said territory, may claim attendance of diplomatic agent at trial.

Art. 20.—If such offender escapes, the agents to use endeavours to obtain satisfaction for aggrieved Kaffir.

Art. 21.—No Kaffir to enter Colony without pass from agent, and to be unarmed, no pass to be granted except on responsibility of Chief, and to be no protection when off his road, or armed, or skulking. Passes to be registered. Kaffirs in actual employ of agents, missionaries, or traders to be protected by passes from employers.

Art. 22.—Kaffirs without passes to be sent across Frontier, and to be punished.

Art. 23.—Kaffirs committing depredations within Colony to be subject to Colonial law; and in case of resistance or attempt at flight, may be fired upon if they cannot be otherwise secured; cannot be pursued beyond boundary, and no patrol to cross the line for that purpose.

Art. 24.—When party in pursuit cannot overtake criminal before he has crossed the border, pursuer to proceed to Pakati over the line (if he can make oath that the stock stolen was in charge of armed herdman, or in kraal, and that pursuit commenced immediately). The pakati to assist pursuer in recovery of stolen property.

Art. 25.—A pursuer may proceed to Military Post and obtain aid of Kaffir policeman. If unsuccessful, may proceed to Diplomatic Agent, lodge complaint on oath; agent to communicate with the Chiefs, who engage to see restitution made, or compensation given.

Art. 26.—No other property to be taken, except identical property lost, or what Chiefs give in lieu thereof.

Art. 27.—Secures protection to Ministers of Christian religion.

Art. 28.—Provides for security of Fingoes.

Art. 29.—Further protection to Fingoes till crops are reaped.

For the effectual working of these treaties certain rules and regulations were required, which will be found as originally framed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and transmitted to His Excellency on February 13, 1837.

“Graham’s Town, February 13, 1837.

“His Excellency the Governor,

“SIR,—Having now to the best of my abilities, for so far as the Kaffirs, Tambookies, and Fingoes on our immediate border are concerned, complied with that part of the instructions with which I was honoured by H.M.’s Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 5th February, 1836, which directed me to enter into treaties with the native Chiefs on the part of His Majesty, and having submitted these treaties to the consideration of Your Excellency in Council under cover of my Despatches . . . I now proceed in execution of the no less important part of the said instructions, to propose the regulations which I deem requisite in aid of said treaties, and in doing so, I beg leave to premise that as these treaties (so opportunely strengthened by the Act of Parliament, Cap. 57, of 6 & 7 Will. IV.), secure the said tribes against all aggression on the part of the Colonists, the protection of the Colonist against aggression on their part must be as complete, before we can hope to see peace maintained, or claim the credit of having done justice.

“The principle upon which I start, therefore, is that which I have always maintained, that no punishment can be too severe for real murderers and plunderers, Kaffir or Colonist ; and in a community like ours, that principle cannot be too strictly enforced. A feeling of insecurity generates the very outrages which partial laws, whether dictated by mistaken philanthropy or prejudice, vainly

strive to repress. Thus the Kaffirs could not leave us at rest as long as they were not safe from our inroads and oppressions ; and it will be equally futile to expect that the Colonists will permanently remain at peace with them, if *within our territory* life and property be not rendered perfectly safe against their revenge, avarice, or any species of encroachment.

“What I say of the Kaffirs is applicable to all the bordering tribes, and though, for the reasons stated in my Despatch of the 13th ultimo, No. 73, it has not yet been possible to conclude the Treaty with the Griqua Chief Kok, our present relations with our other neighbours imperiously call for the settlement of the points which I will introduce, but which will not fetter our negotiations with the Griquas. In performing the above task I shall use all practical care and circumspection, without the least attempt at technical phraseology or classification, as the legal form of the enactments must be entrusted to so much more competent hands. Accordingly I suggest :

“1st. That it be explicitly declared lawful for every inhabitant of the Colony to protect his flocks by means of herdsmen armed with firearms, lances, clubs, or otherwise, and to make use of those weapons for the protection of such, or any other property, against marauders, plunderers, or murderers of any kind, and that the killing of any such marauders, plunderers, or murderers, in the act of robbery, theft, or murder, or flight when attempted to be secured, shall be taken to be justifiable homicide, provided it be not proved that they could have been otherwise prevented from completing such crime or crimes, or that they could safely have been secured and brought to justice

“2nd. Any inhabitant of the Colony, whose property may have been carried off by marauders or plunderers,

shall be at liberty to go in pursuit of the same, armed and with such assistance as he can obtain at the moment, and if he overtake such property within the boundaries of the Colony to retake the same, if necessary by force of arms, and to seize the marauders or plunderers so found in the criminal act, or kill or otherwise disable them, if they cannot by any other means be secured and brought to justice.

“3rd. When property is carried off by marauders or plunderers, whilst such property was guarded by herds-men armed with firearms, lances, clubs, or otherwise, or taken out of kraals, stables, or the like, the party so plundered shall be at liberty to apply to the nearest Field-Cornet, or military post, and if he declare to such Field-Cornet, or Officer commanding such post, that he is ready to make oath that the property plundered was so guarded or secured, and that his pursuit was immediate after the property was so plundered, such Field-Cornet or Officer shall be bound to give every possible assistance towards the recovery of the said property, and the seizure of the plunderers within the Colonial boundary in the manner stated in the foregoing article.

“4th. Unless such declaration be made, or the facts required to be declared otherwise proved to the satisfaction of the Field-Cornet, or Officer, no Field-Cornet, or other inhabitant, shall be *bound*, and no Military Officer shall be at liberty to afford any assistance towards the recovery of the said property.

“5th. Any person making the said declaration shall be liable at all times to be called upon to make oath to the same before any competent authority, and upon refusal to take such oath, to fine and imprisonment.

“6th. When property thus plundered is not overtaken within the boundary of the Colony, and is clearly traced

into the territory occupied by the Kaffirs, Fingoes, or Tambookies, the party wishing to take farther steps for the recovery of the same shall be bound to adhere to the provisions of the 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th Articles of the treaties entered into with the Chiefs of the tribes of Slambie and Gaika, by which also the Fingoes and Tambookies are bound by their respective engagements. N.B. The measures to be adopted for the recovery of property after it shall have been carried across any other part of the Frontier, must depend upon the treaties to be entered into with the tribes bordering on those parts, and the boundary spoken of in the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Clauses of these presents must be understood, for as far as the Kaffirs are concerned to be that specified in the 8th Article of the said treaties entered into with the said Kaffir Chiefs.

“7th. No foreigner from the interior shall be allowed to enter the Colony armed, either with assagais, battle-axes, firearms, or the like, and none of the said foreigners shall be allowed to wander through the Colony so armed. It will be the duty of every Field-Cornet, or any military or civil authority, to prevent such foreigners from entering the Colony so armed, and to cause those so wandering about to be disarmed; and in case of resistance on the part of such foreigners, it shall be lawful to kill, or otherwise disable them, provided they cannot by any other means be disarmed.

“8th. Nothing herein contained to prevent any foreigner actually in the employ of an inhabitant of the Colony from being armed in any way the master thinks proper.

“9th. The provisions of the 12th Clause of the 49th Ordinance being found totally impracticable, and therefore inefficient in preventing the accumulation of great

multitudes of said foreigners, who go through the country without occupation, and commit petty depredations and trespasses, to the great loss and consternation of the inhabitants, every Justice of the Peace and Field-Cornet, or Field-Commandant, must be vested with the power which by the said clause is vested in the Resident Magistrates to the following extent, viz., to enquire summarily into the case of the foreigners who shall offend as in the said clause recited, and if such foreigner be under contract of service, forthwith to direct him or her to be returned to the service of his or her employer, or to place such person with his or her consent in the employment of some creditable inhabitant, or otherwise to cause him or her to be removed beyond the limits of the Colony, resuming any pass that may be found in his or her possession; and if any foreigner so removed beyond the limits of the Colony shall return again and be found wandering within the same, such person shall on conviction thereof before a competent Court be sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for any period not exceeding twelve calendar months. In removing foreigners across the Frontier, the Officer or Field-Cornet commanding the escort shall be responsible that no unnecessary severity be used; but in case of resistance so as to render the execution of such removal impossible by other means, violence and the use of fire-arms shall be resorted to.

“10th. Any body of armed foreigners entering the Colony under pretence of hunting shall be considered as enemies, and be expelled by force of arms.

“11th. Every inhabitant of the Colony, who by law is liable to be called upon to perform commando duty, shall be bound when called upon by a Justice of the Peace or Field-Cornet to assist in carrying into effect the

provisions of the 3rd, 7th, 9th, and 10th clauses above proposed, on pain of fine and imprisonment in case of refusal or non-compliance.

"Your Excellency will at once perceive that when our relations with our northern neighbours are settled and complete, these regulations (which appear to admit of no delay) may require amplification or addition

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

How far these treaties and regulations were effectual for securing the tranquillity of the border and promoting the peace and security of the Frontier farmers, will appear by a careful perusal of the two following Despatches, dated respectively December 18 and 28, 1837 :—

"Graham's Town, December 18, 1837.

"His Excellency the Governor,

"SIR,—As the 5th instant closed the first year since the conclusion of the peace of King William's Town entered into with the Ammahahabe and Ammagonaqueba tribes of Kaffirs, I am desirous that Her Majesty's Government should have the best possible data to judge by, of the result of Lord Glenelg's measures upon this Frontier, and therefore called upon the Diplomatic Agents residing among said tribes, for a statement of the claims of the Colony upon the Kaffirs on account of depredations committed upon the Colonists during said year, as per enclosed copy of the acting Secretary's letter of the 28th ult., No. 1, in reply to which were received letters from Messrs. Stretch and Bowker of the 5th instant, as per enclosed copies, Nos. 2 and 3, by which it will be seen that six horses constitute the only claim of the Colony upon the Kaffirs, and that this claim is also likely to be soon decided.

“To this, however, I have to add a case of five and thirty head of cattle taken from a Mr. Mildenhall, which were regularly traced into Kaffirland, according to the treaty, and which are not yet returned, owing to a dispute between Magono and Umbola as to their liability. Compensation, of course, will be obtained. Nor must I omit that during the said period of a year, two Fingoes have been murdered within the boundaries of the Colony, apparently by Kaffirs, and I have so repeatedly pointed out the causes of inveterate hostility between the two tribes, that here I shall only add that but for the said measures there would now be but few of the Fingoes living. Besides these two men, not a person has been hurt, or an assegai drawn in the Colony by Kaffirs.

“This then, Sir, is the state of the case, which I would just request the Secretary of State to cause to be compared to the disgraceful fabrications which are incessantly propagated as to the ruinous depredations daily perpetrated by Kaffirs upon the Colonists. However, the object of those false alarms and that agitation is now so well understood that they have ceased to dupe the most ignorant. The agitators themselves begin to despair of reproducing disturbance and dividing among themselves the Kaffir country up to the Key; even the hopes which were founded upon the collision between the Kaffirs and Fingoes during last August have died away, since that very occurrence has tended to develop the beneficial working of the new system. Predictions about the immediate war then deemed unavoidable, have covered the prophets with ridicule and disgrace, and all the clamour which disappointment, of course, renders outrageous, has for its object only to keep up a little excitement at a distance, or delude a few in England if possible.

“The two letters from the Diplomatic Agents speak for themselves; but let me be well understood, when I say that compensation has been given by the Kaffirs for all depredations committed by their tribes since the conclusion of the treaties, with the exception of the three cases quoted, it must not be supposed that I pretend that the Kaffirs have not been charged with thefts for which they have given no compensation. I have ordered a return to be prepared, which will show the contrary; but I have given, as I have often done before, a specimen in my Despatch of the 21st ult., No. 330, of what reliance is to be placed on such charges, and these cases are of such constant occurrence, that, by way of elucidation, I shall here just notice those which have occurred within a month.

“In the weekly patrol return of the Military Commandant dated 16th ult., we find a report of a *Field-Cornet*, H. J. Lombaard, stating that on the 26th October *the Kaffirs* had taken away two riding horses from him. I of course observed upon this that I saw no proof of the Kaffirs having taken the horses. On the 29th ult. the said functionary (a Field-Cornet) found his said two horses in the Graham's Town pound, but instead of being satisfied when he saw his mistake, he appears before me rather indignant that his report should be doubted, and that he should have pound expenses to pay, stating himself *ready to make oath* that he had fully ascertained that the Kaffirs had taken the horses before he made the report; and arguing thence that the Kaffirs should be made to pay the pound expenses. Upon my stating my surprise that the horses should be in the pound, if they had been taken, as he affirmed, he confounded me by producing a *paper, written and signed by the Military Commandant, Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, cer-*

tifying that the said horses had been given up to Captain Armstrong by Kaffirs (and sent letter by that Officer). I had not a word to say ; but on referring to Captain Armstrong's returns nothing about these horses appeared, and being written to, he replied that besides two horses which he forwardèd to Colonel Somerset, and which were brought from Graaff Reinet by Captain Gold, he had sent two horses to Graham's Town pound on the 13th October last, and that these four horses were *all* that he had sent to Graham's Town within the last five months.

"I then addressed the Military Commandant on the 6th instant as per enclosed copy, No. 4, received his reply of the 7th as per No. 5, and rejoined on the 8th as per No. 6 ; all these explain themselves.

"Then again on the 5th instant, one Delange makes solemn oath before a magistrate that six of his horses had been stolen from him, and that it was after dark when he missed them, and only found the spoor next morning, about two hundred yards from the house, whilst by the patrol return of the 7th it is affirmed that the said horses when taken were in charge of an armed herdsman, and in the return of the 12th instant we see first horses reported stolen, then the very place named whence they were stolen, and at last *that there is no proof whatever that they were stolen.*

"These details are tedious, but the question which hinges upon them is important, viz., whether people bordering upon a barbarous nation shall take care of their property, and obtain compensation only when the robbery as well as the robbers are ascertained beyond all doubt ; in short, whether the treaties, the Secretary of State's system, the plan now tried for a year, shall be adhered to, or whether we shall convert Her Majesty's

troops into cattle herds, harass the whole army when a cow is missing, which a wolf may have destroyed ; throw Kaffirland into a commotion when a mare has strayed out of the sight of a careless owner ; provoke another war, spend another million or two and ruin two nations. And for what ? To enrich a few fishers in troubled waters, a few speculators in confusion, and conciliate the favour of those whose hatred is the surest indication of worth in the hated object. We have just seen how a Field-Cornet can be prepared *with an oath*, and an officer of high rank with a *certificate*, to accuse the Kaffirs, and still both be mistaken, the Kaffirs may still be innocent.

“ Thus much for the Kaffirs in our immediate neighbourhood, they are perfectly contented ; we have their entire confidence ; they are vexed at the occasional petty thieving, which will continue here as in the most civilised countries, though in a less degree ; but the country is quiet.

“ Beyond the Key the aspect of affairs is equally gratifying, as will be seen by the report of the agent residing there, vide enclosed copy, No. 7, and if those three agents are not deceived, which is difficult to suppose, as they argue not upon theories, but state facts,—if every honest man admits that the change is astounding for so short a period, then comes the question, To what cause is such a result to be ascribed ? Certainly not to any ability with which the new system has been conducted, for the superior ability was in the opposite scale ! Much less to co-operation between those whose oaths and duty exacted it. I must, indeed, admit, and do so with pleasure and gratitude, that without the honesty, loyalty, and conscientious assistance which I met with from some, the machinery must have come to a stand, and

anarchy would have reigned despotic ; but I take the liberty to affirm, as I have done before, and at this crisis beg to be particularly understood, that from first to last my efforts to carry into effect the orders with which I had been honoured by His late Majesty were opposed and thwarted at every step, that nothing that the most refined ingenuity could suggest was left untried to prevent my rescuing this part of the Colony from the most disgraceful state of confusion that ever dishonoured a civilised Government ; that the Supreme Government was held up as a fit object of hatred and contempt to the ignorant mass, who were thus led to consider resistance to the laws acts of patriotism ; that it was absolutely dangerous to be suspected of coinciding with the views of the said Government, and that such suspicion exposed its object, 'not only to have all that is base, unprincipled, and false employed to run him down, but to find the public authority and the public purse instrumental in rendering his life and character insecure.'

"Then again I say, if what we see is reality, to what cause is such a result to be ascribed? Only to the just principles upon which the Minister's measures are founded. Let them be adhered to ; let additional sacrifices be made to instruct the people on both sides of the frontier, and useless expenditure stopped to meet this indispensable one ; let timely measures be adopted to check a system of extermination and traffic in human flesh and blood which is organised by British subjects in the interior. We shall then not altogether stop thieving any more than the new police stopped pocket picking, but we have a chance of gradually, though slowly, improving,—or let us give way to clamour or be cowed by scurrility or perjured cabals, let us give every man permission to *help himself* ; but *then* let us not leave a

black man alive or retreat behind the lines of Cape Town.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your Excellency’s obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.”

“Graham’s Town, December 28, 1837.

“His Excellency the Governor,

“SIR,—I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that Umhala, ostensible head of the Slambie Tribe of Kaffirs, arrived here yesterday with two of his brothers and several other principal men of said tribe, and states that it affords him the more satisfaction to enter this place in safety and peace, as he has not been here since the force, of which he was one, attacked it in 1819, as the most desperate enemies. He begs to me to convey to Her Majesty in the name of the whole Slambie Tribe their most grateful acknowledgments for the peace and happiness they now enjoy, and that they trust to her Royal countenance and friendship. He says, ‘Tell your Queen that the Kaffirs are hungry because the war has ruined them, and the country is dry. Thieves therefore will steal ; but you must not get tired of us, for I swear once more in the name of all Slambie’s children that we love the peace which we now have, and will keep it, and fight with you, and hope you will fight with us against those who try to break it.’

“I have within these few days had visits also from Stock, Fako, and Zozo of the Eno branch, who are equally well-disposed. Pato has even applied for permission to purchase a farm in the Colony ; and Magomo and Tyali, whom I visited in the Tyumie on the 26th instant, are most sincerely our friends, believing it to be their interest. They even hinted a wish to live among the Kat River

location, if they can obtain plots of ground in that quarter bordering upon their territories. In several cases property stolen from the Colony, though not claimable according to the treaty, was recovered by the zeal and activity of these men, in some instances even before the property was missed by the owner. Thus whilst further North we hear of trifling disturbances, our great enemy is become our safest neighbour.

"Yet will it be believed that in spite of this perfect state of tranquillity, I found on the 25th, on reaching the Koonap, where a great number of the farmers were congregated at the Communion, that a son of one John Vaughan had thrown the whole religious meeting into consternation by reporting that the Kaffirs were immediately going to war, and that great bodies of them had already entered the Colony for that purpose, and for such atrocity the laws have no check! The wretch is evidently the mere agent of one of those base confederacies, who, finding all their revilings against Her Majesty's Government, and all their excitement to disaffection and sedition, insufficient to restore disorder and gain for them possession of 'Adelaide,' try to frighten some more of the credulous peasantry out of the country in order to obtain their lands at a discount.

"I have, etc.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1837.

Moodie *vs.* Fairbairn—Report thereon by Lieutenant-Governor to Secretary of State—Stockenstrom *vs.* Campbell—Trial of Lieutenant-Governor for Murder—His Defence—Fully acquitted—Letter to Sir George Napier.

IT was during the month of June, 1837, that public attention was directed to the case of Moodie *vs.* Fairbairn, tried before the Supreme Court. The gist of the action is briefly stated in the following excerpt from the *Commercial Advertiser*.

“The Report of the proceedings in the case ‘Moodie *versus* Fairbairn,’ part of which is given below, and the remainder of which will appear in our next, requires no comment from us to enable the reader clearly to apprehend the nature and merits of the action.

“It appears that in the months of April, May, and June, 1835, rumours prevailed in Cape Town that a number of persons on the Frontier who had taken offence at some things Captain Stockenstrom was reported to have said in evidence, when under examination before the ‘Select Committee (of the House of Commons) on Aborigines (British Settlements,)’ had, in some cases voluntarily, in the other cases, in obedience to orders, to attend before certain Justices of the Peace, deposed on oath, that Captain Stockenstrom, some time subsequent to the year 1812, had, with his own hand, shot an unarmed, unresisting Kaffir in cold blood.

“In the month of April of the same year (1836), the Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, alluding to these rumours, which appear to have been spread over the whole Colony, observed, that unless there had been subornation of perjury, the crime of murder had been proved against Captain Stockenstrom, and that this would soon appear.

“Rumour also said, that Mr. D. Moodie of Graaff Reinet, and Captain Campbell of Graham's Town, were two of the persons by whom the affidavits in question had been taken, and that Mr. J. C. Chase of Cape Town, had received some of them, or copies of them, shown them to others, and transmitted them, or copies of them, to England.

“Having ascertained that these rumours were well-founded, that is, that such depositions had been taken; that they had not been submitted to the Clerks of the Peace, either at Graaff Reinet or Graham's Town, nor to the Attorney-General, but that some of them had been sent to a private person in Cape Town, while the destination of others, though suspected, could not be discovered, we considered the proceedings irregular, and that Captain S., then absent, was in danger of being unfairly treated.

“And when we ascertained further, that some of the parties had been allowed to give hearsay evidence, together with opinions on oath, respecting the alleged offence; and that others who now swore that they were eye-witnesses, had not only been silent for seventeen years at least, and probably for twenty-five years, but that during those seventeen or twenty-five years they had held themselves honoured by Captain Stockenstrom's acquaintance, and had signed addresses to him, in which his justice and benevolence were highly applauded—

taking these things, we say, into consideration, we came to the conclusion, probably a very erroneous one, that the parties, all or some of them, were actuated by some other motive than the pure and praiseworthy desire of vindicating the majesty of public justice !

“ And farther, from the tone of certain addresses and memorials to which most, if not all of the deponents’ names were attached, in which Frontier Affairs and Frontier Policy were discussed, we perceived that their views on these exciting subjects were directly opposed to those avowed by Captain S., and that, consequently, his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship might lead to the detection of certain practices, and to the frustration of certain hopes—practices of recent date, and hopes then in their zenith—viewing things under this aspect, we say it appears to us that disappointed hopes and revenge were at the bottom of the whole proceedings, even supposing the charge against Captain S. to have been founded in truth.

“ But when we ascertained on testimony, to our minds perfectly satisfactory, that the charge was not founded in truth, but in error ; that so far from having wantonly shed blood, Captain S. had, on the occasion alluded to, saved life ; and that in the course of the same expedition, a warlike expedition—under martial law, against a proclaimed enemy, he had saved the lives of six or seven Kaffirs at the imminent risk of his own—all of which we have in writing, under the hand of one whose evidence will be brought forward in the proper place and at the proper time, now not far off. Knowing, we say, and believing these things, we become convinced that a plot or conspiracy, or something partaking of the nature of a plot or conspiracy, existed on the Frontier, with ramifications in other parts of the Colony, the

object of which was to ruin, if not to destroy, a most meritorious public servant, in his absence and on account of his very merit.

“Under the feelings produced by these facts, and the views we have taken of them, the paragraph was written, which Mr. Chase and Mr. Moodie have considered themselves aggrieved by, and which a court of law has pronounced to be a libel. And Messrs. Chase and Moodie have sought redress in due course of law instead of appealing to their pens—the weapons with which they had been labouring to wound others for so many weary months, before we had bestowed a passing notice upon them ; and Messrs. Chase and Moodie have obtained the redress they sought. *Sint felices!* May they be prosperous! The affair as between them and us is ended. But out of the proceedings a higher interest has arisen than that referred solely to the characters of persons so insignificant. Is it according to practice, that the Resident Magistrate, when about to investigate a criminal charge, should pass by the Clerk of the Peace, and select any Justices of the Peace whom he may think fit to select, for the purpose of making or taking the preliminary examination? Is it according to practice, for such Justices and such Magistrate to proceed with such investigations from day to day, under the very nose of the Clerk of the Peace, within the sound of his foot-step as he moved to or from his office, without permitting him to see or know one jot or one tittle of the matter? Is it according to practice, for such Justices to keep the whole matter, during its progress, and after its completion, from the knowledge of the Attorney-General, but to correspond on the subject with Mr. J. C. Chase, and to furnish him with copies of depositions to be used as he may be directed, or as he may see fit? Is it customary

when the Resident Magistrate of Albany wishes a deposition to be taken in the District of Somerset, to pass by the Clerk of the Peace stationed at Somerset, and to direct a Justice of the Peace to take the desired depositions, although 'the bill of expenses allowed, and the cheque given to the witness for his travelling expenses, had to pass through the hands of the Clerk of the Peace?' This happened in the case of Botha's affidavit alluded to (but not to be found) in this case.

"And, finally for the present, is it the practice of the Colonial Government to receive and store up in the pigeon holes of the Colonial Office depositions affecting the life and honour of Her Majesty's subjects? but till we have again run our eye over Starkie we shall abstain from touching this part of the subject. Indeed, we would not have said so much to-day as we have said, thinking it better to put the reader in possession of the whole case before commenting upon it, had it not been that we felt it our duty to prevent any unfavourable impression from being made by the first view of the affidavits of Aucamp, Pretorius, and others. A careful perusal of them will enable any man of common discernment to detect the inconsistencies and contradictions they contain.

Stockenboom "But we thought it due to Captain ~~Somerset~~, against whom a degree of enmity, amounting to ferocity, has been kindled by such acts as these, to state what we had ascertained from other quarters respecting the real character of the transaction in question. The investigation which must now take place will soon settle for ever the character of all parties implicated in this monstrous affair."

On June 20, Sir Andries sent copies of four numbers of the *Commercial Advertiser*, containing a full account of this trial to

the Governor for his own information and that of the Secretary of State along with the following Despatch :—

“Graham's Town, June 20, 1837.

“SIR,—Referring to my Despatch of the 25th ult., No. 198, I have the honour to add to the same, herewith enclosed, four numbers of the South African *Commercial Advertiser*, viz., 1040, 1041, 1042, and 1043, as His Majesty's Secretary of State, and your Excellency will there find exposed by the trial of the case ‘Moodie *versus* Fairbairn,’ a specimen of the machinations by which it has been attempted to defeat the views of the Home Government on this Frontier and bring about my ruin, as the humble agent through whose instrumentality it was supposed those views were to be carried into effect.

“As the Secretary of State will not deny the full investigation which I have prayed for, it would be superfluous for me just now to make more than a few cursory remarks, particularly as His Majesty's Attorney-General has so clearly exposed what he styles that ‘hole and corner work, that low, shuffling way of doing things in the dark,’ which has long afflicted this Colony, and by means of which any obnoxious man's character and life may be placed in jeopardy by any designing set of conspirators who have sufficient cunning, by cloaking their true sentiments, to impose upon the vulgar mass, and thus to gain sufficient popularity to be able to excite by falsehood and slander the purchasable ignorant and demoralised mob into frenzy and perjury against the devoted victim of their envy, malice, and hatred. This learned officer has thus saved me a considerable deal of labour in unmasking the nature and character of a proceeding, on which I must nevertheless offer a few additional explanations.

“Soon after my return to this Colony in 1836, I was informed confidentially that Mr. John Centlivres Chase had a short time previous, obtained from the Frontier, caused to be copied in Cape Town, and forwarded to England, certain affidavits charging me with murdering and burning one or more Kaffirs many years back. As I had reason to expect very different conduct from Mr. Chase, I doubted the fact, and as he assured a mutual friend, through whom he applied for an interview with me, that, ‘however much he differed from me in his views on the Frontier Policy, he had to charge himself with nothing *personal* against me, whatever rumour might say to the contrary ;’ as he, Mr. Chase, when that interview was granted, repeated to me that assurance in the most solemn manner ; as I heard not a word on the subject, either from the Government or the Attorney-General, I classed the above reports with other falsehoods which agitation had given birth to at the time, and postponed further enquiry for reasons specified in my Despatch, No. 39. Reaching George on my way up to the Frontier on the 25th August, I there found a letter addressed to me by the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, dated 17th of said month of August, as per enclosed Copy No. 1, covering the affidavit of Klopper, which appears in the trial, and would therefore be superfluous here.

“From this Civil Commissioner’s hostility, I was aware I had the worst to expect. He stood indeed in an awkward predicament. He had caused it to be stated to a Committee of the House of Commons, through his friend Colonel Wade, that he had had no opportunity to investigate the charge which had been brought before the Colonial Government by me in 1831, against a party sent into Kaffirland in search of cattle, the year before,

under the orders of the Field-Cornet Erasmus, whilst he knew that not only had those charges been publicly reiterated in the newspapers and caused great anxiety and public discussion, but that the said Government, in despite of my representations and the petitions of the Frontier inhabitants, had officially refused all investigation, and that only after the said case had been drawn from me by the said Committee, and the farmers had been worked up against me, by the most disgraceful impositions on their fear and credulity. Some of these were induced to make affidavits, the untruth of which I am at any time able to prove. That, therefore, I should be a very welcome Lieut.-Governor to the Civil Commissioner and others, I could not expect ; but that such a functionary should receive without notice to the Attorney-General such an affidavit, involving such a charge in my absence, whilst the deluded public mind was fermenting into the most frightful fury against me, and that he should only give me this notice when it was evident that all the machinations which had been set in motion would be ineffectual to prevent my assuming the reins of Government here, is what I would believe few men's enmity capable of. And, above all, that he should send that affidavit to a private individual, officially unconnected with either Government or the Attorney-General's Department, who he knew was (in spite of his solemn asseverations to the contrary) straining every nerve to injure my character, for this private individual to show about, and send to Colonel Wade to be used against me, whilst I had not the means of defence or refutation, as was proved on the said trial, exhibits a picture which makes me shudder to look at.

"To come to the affidavit, however, I must here explicitly observe, that I would at once have proved it a

tissue of falsehood from first to last, as I shall do. The unfortunate Kloppe, when he concocted his tale, forgot that, even after seventeen years, it might be possible to prove that the Commando he speaks of, or a single man of the same, did not come within twenty miles of the spot on which he describes the tragedy to have taken place. But here I must allow myself a digression. Let us not attempt to deceive the Secretary of State and the nation.

“Kloppe’s accusation is a frightful one, and, thank God, such proceedings as it depicts are beginning to be viewed in a proper light; but let us not pretend that if the act had been perpetrated that it would have been a solitary one in the history of the Colony. Nine-tenths of those who affect a sudden burst of virtuous horror at the case, which they hope may injure a man who scorns to court the popular cheer, know in their Consciences that it was for the express purpose of retaliatory destruction and plunder that warlike expeditions were sent across the Frontier—that to kill, to make an example of, to strike terror into the enemy, was a duty, a standing order—that giving quarter or taking prisoners was never thought of by either party; that this very Commando of 1819 was particularly conspicuous for all those harsh features, and that if I could have extirpated the whole race of Kaffirs exactly in the way described by Kloppe, I, instead of being reprobated, should have been lauded throughout the Colony as an example of heroism and filial piety, or, as the Attorney-General has it, ‘*it would have been good luck to him*.’ Four thousand Kaffir warriors were killed in your Excellency’s late campaign. How many of these fell fighting? How came Congo to his end in 1812? How fell Eno’s son about 1820? How perished Hintza in 1835? These were deeds of glory;

but there was no obnoxious Lieutenant-Governor to be got rid of—or was it to brighten up the gloomy aspect of these pictures that Klopper tried to invent something of a darker shade if possible?

“I now revert to the proceedings of the Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset. I reached Cradock about the end of September, intending there to ask the Justice of the Peace for the affidavit which the said Civil Commissioner stated in his letter to me he had caused to be taken by this Justice of the Peace from a man named Dolf Botha, and of which I had heard no more; when however, the latter officer anticipated my application, by stating that he hoped I did not believe him concerned in any factions against me because he had taken Botha’s affidavit, as he had done so reluctantly upon the reiterated desire of the Civil Commissioner, who required it in order to refute false charges which had been brought against me; that he (the Justice of the Peace) had lately again been applied to by the Civil Commissioner for a copy of said affidavit; but that as he had at once sent him the original without keeping a copy, he could not comply with that application.

“This compelled me to address the Civil Commissioner on the subject, when I received for answer a letter, dated 15th October, 1838, as per enclosed copy No. 2; that, *as he had not preserved the affidavit*, he could not provide me with a copy of the same. ‘*Not preserve*’ such a document! Well, I then again applied to the Justice of the Peace, through my secretary, in order to ascertain, if possible, what Botha had deposed, and received that officer’s reply, dated 20th March and 3rd April, with enclosures, as per enclosed copies 3, 4, 5.

“On these I have only for the present to remark that the Civil Commissioner repeats to the Justice of the

Peace the contemptible fabrication which has been a thousand times flatly denied, but which was found excellently adapted to serve the purposes of a firebrand, viz., that I had charged Erasmus with murder, whereas I had charged this man with falsely representing that as a fight which was in reality the murder of unarmed men, *and that not on a 'warlike expedition,'* all which I persist in and shall prove. My efforts to obtain Botha's evidence were thus vain.

"In my progress through this Division, I reached Graaff Reinet on the 23rd December last. Knowing the Civil Commissioner to be one of my bitterest enemies, I was agreeably surprised to find him, not showing me that respect to which our relative offices entitled me, but placing himself at the head of the burghers, who were determined to exhibit their kind feeling towards me, and outstripping them all in enthusiasm, in which he was particularly backed by Messrs. Charles Pretorius and Pieter Aukamp.

"However, not long after this exhibition, I read in the South African *Commercial Advertiser* of the 1st March last, that in my absence from the Colony affidavits had also been received at Graaff Reinet charging me with a capital crime. I at once applied to the Clerk of the Peace at that place for copies of those affidavits, and received for answer, as per enclosed copy No. 7, that he did not know whether any had been taken, that they had not been taken in his presence, and had never been sent or shown to him.

"I next applied to the Civil Commissioner of Graaff Reinet, who then could no longer withhold from me his letter to the Secretary to Government, dated the 25th April, 1836, and the affidavits of Aukamp and Pretorius, as they appear upon the said trial.

“To these documents I must call the particular attention of the Secretary of State. The Attorney-General very justly, though mildly, calls the whole proceeding ‘anything but respectable.’ He has pointed out its illegality and the baseness of its object; but I am bound more particularly to advert to the deep design, which strikes the most superficial observer on the first perusal of the said letter to the Secretary to Government, where the Civil Commissioner pretends a desire to put a stop to ‘a considerable degree of uneasiness, apprehension, and dangerous excitement,’ and to do justice to an individual by *the very* act, which any one with a spark of intellect must at once see was as effectual a measure to put in a blaze any combustible matter that might exist, as putting a lighted match to dry gunpowder, and by which justice to the individual was rendered utterly impossible. But for that deep design to which the ‘uneasiness, apprehension, and excitement’ were peculiarly propitious, common justice and humanity would have deemed this very state of things an imperious reason for postponing even a just and legal examination, and here, I can only hope, *en passant*, that the enquiry which must now follow will prove the Civil Commissioner himself free from all participation in creating the ‘uneasiness, apprehension, and excitement’ which he dreaded; and what must this gentleman’s feelings have been, when he saw, on my passing through his District, as above stated, what the nature of this excitement really was on the part of all that was respectable? However, this act of *prudence and justice* being determined on, three magistrates assemble, two of whom at least are long experienced in the routine of the law business of the Colony, and one of whom at least had for a considerable time been most industriously engaged by abusing a public trust, in exciting the public mind

against the very individual to whom *justice* was to be done. They excluded the very officer without whom it was illegal to proceed one single step, and finding that even their '*uneasy, apprehensive, and excited*' witnesses, however anxious to be revenged of the marked public enemy, cannot be brought to anything like consistency with Klopper, the affidavits are not sent to Colonel Wade, but to the Colonial Office, where they are received and treasured up, and but for the said trial, might have remained until the means of refutation were lost, and might have been dragged forward to effect the purpose now missed.

"I am glad to say that this trial has had another beneficial effect, as it has brought to light Botha's affidavit, which, on the 15th October last, the Civil Commissioner of Albany *had not preserved*; for hardly had the Attorney-General's speech arrived here on the 16th instant when that affidavit, as per enclosed copy No. 8, was found and transmitted to me under cover of the Civil Commissioner's letter of the 17th, as per enclosed copy No. 9, and received on the 18th. This document would indeed have been an unfortunate appendage to Klopper's affidavit, at least in England, where the absence of Colonial '*uneasiness, apprehension, and excitement*' enable people to look calmly into probabilities and possibilities; for though Klopper had from the 2nd to the 27th February to tell Botha what he had sworn against the man whom it became every patriotic Colonist's duty to ruin, and although the Civil Commissioner had given the Justice of the Peace who was to question Botha the key to everything which he was required to say, yet, as it could not be word for word dictated to him, there is not a single point in which these men agree, except the burning of the bush, which Pretorius denies; Botha removes the date six

years further back, and improves so considerably upon the horrors depicted by Klopper, that, by trying to overdo the work of his instigators, he only teaches them to what depths of crime the instruments of revenge may be plunged without bringing anything but confusion and disappointment to their employers.

“At any rate, we have now with much toil fished up four affidavits, the fruit of months and months of the ‘uneasiness, apprehension, and excitement’ which have ever since continued to be fomented by two powerful engines preying upon the credulity of the ignorant in the garb of Government organs, and then hundreds of coadjutors, driven to desperation by the success of the main object of the Supreme authority (for we have reached the longest nights, and the Kaffirs will not gratify the war party by even frightening the women who go unprotected all over the country). How many more affidavits there may be shuffling about, or whether any others less contradictory may be concocting more deliberately, I know not; but this much I do know, that as far as the matter has hitherto gone, a more disgusting picture does not appear in the history of any country or time, though the darkest features will only be exhibited when the enquiry I demand shall take place.

“Such, then, is the state of the Colony. There remains a great moral lesson to be taught us. His Majesty’s Government has to decide the question, and prove to his South African subjects whether, on the one hand, a man chargeable with the worst of crimes can be allowed to represent him, or whether, on the other hand, those subjects shall not dare to lay facts and opinions honestly and truly before the representatives of the nation, when called upon to do so, without endangering their lives and characters by what the Attorney-General calls ‘the

disrespectable proceedings, the dirty, low, shuffling way of doing things in the dark,' at the instigation of secret 'enemies, and by getting soft people to countenance their proceedings,' and perjure themselves; but, above all, whether men high in office shall be allowed to take a part in the proceedings so characterised by the Law officer.

"I conclude with a few words on the speech of the Counsel for the Plaintiff, as it is now before the public. Not being a lawyer, I am not aware of the full extent of license which persons speaking under such circumstances are allowed to take; but we have no longer right to be surprised at the delusion of illiterate Boers, when a man of high education and standing can, upon the information of those whose interest it is to deceive him, assert what I dare say he believed, but what the Secretary of State and the Aborigines Committee can tell him is utterly false, viz., that my evidence before the said Committee was either gratuitous, uncalled for, or unmerited, or that I had accused Erasmus of murder, or the Colonists in the mass.

"It would have served the cause better if the learned gentleman had tried to refute one syllable of that evidence (as the self-constituted 'Colonial party' has a thousand times been defied to do) by any other witnesses but such as are implicated and were worked up into a convenient state of 'uneasiness, apprehension, and excitement.' Of the delicacy and pertinence of the following passage I leave the Secretary of State to judge: 'He (Capt. S.) ought to have remembered the mote and the beam, and, as there were previous rumours, he ought to have been doubly cautious, because he had a right to expect what had occurred.'

"But I have to observe that if such rumours were

afloat, the 'secret enemies' pointed out by the Attorney-General knew too well 'the dirty, low, shuffling way of doing things in the dark' to have allowed them to come to my ears before their plans were matured in my absence; and if even I had known of rumours, I cannot help expressing a hope (without wishing to diminish this gentleman's share in the popularity of his clients, as the champion of the Colonists) that we shall never see that species of morality inculcated which would induce a witness to suppress the truth, and deceive a tribunal competent to interrogate him, for fear of rumours and the revenge and cabals of their originators and propagators.

"It is also said, it has been told me, 'that Colonel Wade acted in a candid way, and showed it (Klopper's affidavit) to Captain Stockenstrom.' Here I must explicitly state that, on the last day on which I was before the Aborigines Committee, just as I was going to leave the room, and it was known that I was to embark for this Colony one or two days after, Colonel Wade, who was then going to enter upon his evidence, handed, through the chairman, to me certain papers, which he said he was going to embody in said evidence. I looked through them, and, seeing that they were just a string of repetitions of what had before been produced about Erasmus, I returned them, saying, 'Do with them what you please,' and walked out. If, therefore, said affidavit, as said Counsel believes, was entered upon the minutes of the Committee, he has a right to assume that I saw it; but in no other way or place was there any communication, directly or indirectly, between Colonel Wade and myself, and I should indeed be surprised to hear that officer assert, as the Attorney-General states, that he ever showed me any papers, saying, 'Do you see what you are accused of at the Cape?'

"So much until we come to the scrutiny, and if I have unintentionally been led into any degree of undue warmth, I know that the Secretary of State will not lose sight of the hundreds of provocations, for which I can only be consoled by the success of His Lordship's policy, as far as it has hitherto been acted up to here, to the bitter mortification of those who, by fair or foul means, have offered me the most systematic, perverse opposition which could ever fall to the lot of any man.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

The foregoing Despatch will serve to introduce the reader to the trial of the case of Stockenstrom *vs.* Campbell, which claims more than a passing notice. It has already been shown how that, from the time of his arrival in the Colony, the Lieut.-Governor had been made aware that the evidence which he had given before the committee of the House of Commons, especially what he had deposed regarding the Frontier commando and reprisal systems, and the facts, which he had there brought forward in proof of his allegations, such as the circumstances under which Zeko and six of his followers had been shot, and numerous other outrages committed, had caused very great indignation against him amongst a certain portion of the Frontier community.

It has been shown that he knew that certain parties had, during his absence from the Colony, been using every possible means and device to set the public mind against him, to denounce him as a traitor to the cause of his country, and that a part of the plot was, in revenge for his account of the circumstances attending the death of Zeko, to accuse him of having some twenty-five years previously, in revenge for the death of his father, murdered a Kaffir child under circumstances of great atrocity, and that affidavits to this effect had been privately taken in Graham's Town, Cradock, and Graaff Reinet.

One of the prime movers in the affair had been Captain Duncan Campbell, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, and the matter was brought to an issue by the Lieut.-Governor suing him in the Supreme Court for libel.

The Defendant (Campbell) was sued for having maliciously and without reasonable or probable cause taken depositions, and having caused other depositions to be taken, charging Captain Stockenstrom with having, in order to revenge himself for his father's death, deliberately fired at and killed a Kaffir child in the year 1813. That the depositions so taken were not officially communicated to the Clerk of the Peace, or any other public officer, or in any other manner used or acted upon in the regular course of justice; but that the slander was insidiously propagated in private channels.

The case was tried before the Supreme Court, then consisting of Sir John Wylde, Messrs. Menzies and Kekewich (though the name of the latter nowhere appears on the record of the trial), and, to the intense surprise of every one, judgment was given for the Defendant.

The triumph of the conspirators and of Stockenstrom's enemies now knew no bounds; the *Graham's Town Journal* especially was virulent in denouncing him as convicted of having bereft of life a fellow-creature under circumstances more cruel and revolting to every generous and humane mind than anything ever heard of or read of in border warfare; in fact, it denounced him as a murderer, a liar, a traducer, a slanderer, a mock philanthropist, until the English language was pretty well exhausted of bitter and opprobrious terms with which to vilify him, and they would have danced with fiendish joy round the gallows if they could at once have hung him for murder. Mr. Fairbairn, of course, came in for his full share of vilification and abuse, and to have made him share Stockenstrom's fate, which they believed was now sealed, would have completed their satisfaction.

Of the Supreme Court, of the relative positions and existing relations of the two leading judges of that Court, of the technicalities by which the most essential evidence was excluded, and of the advisability of the action itself in the form in which it was brought forward, it is needless to speak.

Suffice it to say, that on the report reaching the Supreme Government, they at last did what the Lieut.-Governor had so long and so urgently requested. Sir George Napier, who succeeded Sir B. D'Urban as Governor of the Colony, was instructed to appoint from among the military and naval officers serving on the station, two to constitute with himself the Court to enquire into the matter.

The Governor, accordingly, selected Captain Dundas of the Royal Navy, and Major Charters, his military secretary, who shortly assembled in Graham's Town. Before commencing the trial these officers agreed that each should form his own opinion and judgment of the case without consultation with the others, each independently of the other, write down his own views and conclusions, and transmit them in this form to the Secretary of State, without so much as informing the Lieut.-Governor what their verdict was. The investigation lasted fourteen days, and was of the most minute and searching kind. Before this Court, which was only in search of truth, it was shown how only the day preceding that of the alleged murder, the then young officer had, at the imminent risk of his own life, rushed in between a patrol, who had already levelled their guns to fire at seven Kaffirs, who were approaching their camp, and thereby saved their lives in the most noble manner possible.

After all the evidence had been gone through, Captain Stockenstrom addressed the Court.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“Gentlemen of this Court.

“It may be possible for you to imagine, though not for me to describe, the satisfaction which I derived from seeing this case before a ‘Court of Honour’ at last, and I feel confident that every friend of justice and fairness rejoiced in the conviction, that whatever might be the machinations contrived towards the consummation of my ruin—however cunningly spun the web by which it may have been hoped to ensnare you, however specious the calumnies whereby it was attempted to prejudice you—

you, as far as human powers could enable mortal to escape the labyrinth, would pursue that course of impartiality and independence which would prove this indeed a Court of honour and truth, altogether untainted by the suggestions of personal hostility, the gratification of private revenge, or a slavish subserviency to an aspiring faction, rendered desperate by disappointment.

“Receive, therefore, my most heartfelt thanks for the above characteristics which have been so conspicuous throughout the whole of your proceedings, and which, added to your patience and temper, which I must necessarily have severely put to the test, must have ministered consolation even to my enemies, by proving to Her Majesty’s subjects that even in this remote nook of her dominions there is, sooner or later, protection against the most violent current of prejudice and persecution.

“Your time is too valuable, gentlemen, to be taken up by any lengthened detail of the circumstances which have led to this crisis ; but a few brief observations are indispensable towards a proper understanding of the course which I have pursued, and will, therefore, with your avowed justice, be listened to with attention, whilst I pledge myself not to trouble you with matter in the least irrelevant to the point at issue.

“It is perfectly notorious, and must consequently be well known to you, having in a great measure been mixed up with the proceedings before you, that the clamour and excitement out of which the charge has sprung, which you were called upon to investigate, were the result of an evidence which I was compelled to give before a Committee of the House of Commons, being duly summoned and interrogated.

“It has more than once been asserted that a slight

explanation or modification on my part would heal the wounds alleged to have been inflicted on many, and at once conciliate all parties. Though anxious to be at peace with all mankind, I shall ever decline to purchase the good-will of the whole species by the sacrifice of a single principle ; and being confident that I had never unjustly injured any man, I spurned the suggestion which the impertinence deserved ; but before a Court constituted as this is, and before that part of the community which I do respect, I can have no hesitation to say that I informed the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British nation, that my countrymen, ‘ though thrown by the course of particular events into unhappy circumstances, in regard to some of the lower classes in their midst, constitute nevertheless under a sound system of policy and just treatment in the aggregate, the best disposed and easiest managed people in Her Majesty’s Dominions.’ As such I considered them, with that feeling I served them for a series of years, and have proofs, which I defy the venom of the bitterest enemy to weaken, that a considerable proportion of them felt themselves happy under my treatment. Yea, so perfectly do the majority of them harmonize with me, in lamenting the circumstances just alluded to, that by *their own* testimony (unbiassed by the malice and misrepresentations of my calumniators), would I maintain every position of my said evidence. Such, then, is my opinion of, such my affection for, my countrymen. I go further ; I publicly declare, that in all my communications with reference to the community by which I am surrounded, I have invariably spoken of ‘ a respectable majority,’ which I still hope and believe does exist, and between whom and myself little difference of opinion would be found if they would consent to

understand me, and consult their own good sense ; but there is nothing in all this inconsistent with the fact, which after additional experience, I insist upon and proclaim to you, to the Colony, and to the world, that not one-tenth part of the atrocities which have been perpetrated against the native tribes of South Africa are up to this moment known either to the House of Commons, the Government, or the nation. That those very atrocities (of which the cruel, treacherous massacre of the Chief Zeko and his followers, which has been so prominently dragged forward, is but a faint instance) have brought those tribes to that state which will require all the united wisdom of the Legislature and the Executive to prevent their becoming dangerous to our very existence as a civilized community.

“Whether this modification of my evidence will prove satisfactory, I shall not stop to calculate ; but having adverted to the ‘respectable majority,’ whom it would be childish to refuse to conciliate if practicable, by honourable means, I am bound in candour to add for general information, that what has been considered the most offensive parts of my said evidence dwindles into absolute flattery when compared with the pictures which I have *since* drawn of the state of affairs whenever my duty has required it.

“If I have ever succeeded in anything, it is in proving that all the brutal insolence and vulgar scurrility with which I have been assailed, all the falsehoods and contortions which base minds can concoct, are unable to make me swerve from that line of conduct to which I feel pledged and which my conscience approves. There is consequently ample security when I promise that not all the persecutions and conspiracies, which even this prolific country can generate, shall ever deter me from

forming an opinion, giving it and adhering to it, in a matter of public interest.

“But my humble testimony is almost superfluous, for we may rest perfectly satisfied, that all the ingenuity which may be set at work to efface the impression once made by the knowledge of the truth, may answer the private purposes of the chief actors; but will prove utterly unavailing in shaking the conviction of the civilised world.

“To prevent or counteract then the impression which was expected to be made by evidence founded upon such opinions, nothing more effectual suggested itself than an attempt to prove me a principal actor in the cruelties which I had denounced, and the charge now before you was got up. With what truth, generosity and candour you are already able to judge; but on the subject of shooting Kaffirs, I have only to repeat, that if I were accused of having killed ten, I am unable to swear to the contrary, though I conscientiously believe I never hurt a single one. The only military service which I have to boast of (and I am ashamed to own it before a Court thus constituted) is that ungrateful, harassing, degrading species of man-hunting of which, God knows, I have had abundance. That, consequently, in clearing a country, scouring jungles, taking cattle out of almost inaccessible fastnesses, or pursuing an enemy, I must often have been in close contact with the barbarian foe is a matter of course; more than once have I, as a special favourite, been *complimented* that my shot was the successful one out of a whole volley, when some unfortunate desperadoes rushed forward upon us, when I knew the proud compliment was not due, but intended as a piece of flattery. It was a glorious action well deserving of a compliment to shoot a savage

under any circumstances ; and such it continued until the House of Commons incurred our displeasure by being surprised at it. Many is the deed which the ‘*uncalled-for interference*’ of that House has made us blush at, which up to that moment constituted our boast. But, thank God, under all the disadvantages of example, in experience, and natural prejudice, I have no wanton bloodshed, even against the enemy, to charge myself with.

“Once in the whole course of my so-called campaign do I believe it *probable* that the bullets discharged by me inflicted a mortal wound.

“The circumstances are these: It is too long ago, and was too trifling an incident, for me to remember either date or locality. Being in some jungle or other, in pursuit of hostile Kaffirs, and having the same Charl Pretorius, who has been made to play such a conspicuous part in the affair before this Court, and my commanding officer, Captain Frazer, immediately near me, something moved before us, the former cried out, ‘Fire—there comes the assegai,’ I and two or three others, having as usual in such circumstances our guns ready, fired at the instant ; we were out of the bush the next moment, when the affair was laughed at, some saying that there were no Kaffirs at all. Pretorius swore that he had through the bush seen one level his assegai, and receive my ball. Captain Frazer ordered some men into the thicket to see, and these soon returned with two bundles of assegais reporting that they had found two Kaffirs lying dead.

“Pretorius has since repeatedly boasted that his opportunity call to fire had saved my life, at the same time dividing the honour of the day with me, by giving me credit for great presence of mind, *though I saw not on that spot a single Kaffir dead or alive.* Whether it is

upon this paltry incident that the stupendous fabric now exposed to your scrutiny has been constructed, it is impossible for me to assert; but I think you will be disposed to believe me when I assure you, before our common Maker, that I cannot imagine what else my accusers have in view.

“Moreover, be this as it may, and leaving the final conclusion to yourselves, Her Majesty’s Government, and that part of the public whose opinion alone is of the slightest importance to me, viz., the wise and the virtuous, I now proceed to show, to the best of my ability, as I am pledged to do, that the charges contained against me in the affidavits alleged to have been made by Klopper, Botha, Aukamp, and Pretorius, as transmitted by me through Sir Benjamin D’Urban to the Secretary of State, are *a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end*; whilst the character of the transactions, which originated, fostered, fomented, and propagated those false accusations, will necessarily be exposed to view, and with full confidence left to the judgment of the tribunals, to which I have but just appealed.

“In order to avoid all digression in the chain of my comments and arguments on the main point at issue, I shall here at once discharge all extraneous matter which has been either unavoidably or for particular purposes mixed up with the case. A few brief observations will answer this purpose fully.

“Let me, then, inform you that up to the moment of the opening of this Court, not one single syllable of the elaborate essays of the Civil Commissioners of Albany and Graaff Reinet, as contained in their letters to the Secretary to Government, dated 27th July, 11th August, and 29th September, 1837, had been communicated to me; and as it appears that they were fully placed in possession

of what I had stated with reference to *their* proceedings I must trust to Her Majesty's Government and the world to judge of the fairness of leaving me in the dark as to what they had said in opposition to me, whilst their statements were forwarded to militate against me in Downing Street ; more particularly if I was so left in the dark in order to afford the former of the said gentlemen an advantage in a private civil suit in compliance with his letter to the said Secretary, dated 18th August, 1837.

"Far am I, however, from believing the Secretary of State capable of being biassed by such *ex parte* proceedings, or attaching the slightest importance to the secret contributions of Messrs. Rennie and Jordaan.

"The question of my delay in the prosecution of the cause has been so honestly dealt with by the Secretary in his Despatch to the Governor of 19th December last, that all illiberal conclusions sink beneath contempt. Suffice it for me to add, that if I had preferred my own private interests to those of the public charge intrusted to me, if I had deemed a few silly newspaper compliments, and the cheer of the many, of greater importance than the peace of the Frontier, the treaties with the Kaffirs, and the arrangements as to the military defence, I should certainly at once have added fuel to flame, by entering into exciting investigations, and fishing in troubled waters ; but I deemed Captain Stockenstrom's grievances, which involved only his own character and fortune, secondary to the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor, which involved the lives and property of thousands. Still I alluded to the subject in some of my earliest Despatches, and as soon as I could collect material and muster leisure, I submitted the whole affair to two of the most eminent barristers in the Colony, viz., Messrs. Oliphant and Musgrave, without pointing out any particular individual

for prosecution. My sole object was scrutiny ; but these learned gentlemen pointed at Captain Campbell, and he was selected accordingly. The former barrister subsequently modified his opinion, but still consented to conduct the case, and on it went, as we shall see.

“ As for the use made of one out of fifty or sixty invitations to dinner issued by me, and some good-natured complimentary allusion in proposing the health of the Chief of a District at a public party, I can only assure the gentlemen concerned that no sacrifice, short of character and peace of mind, would have been deemed too great on my part to bring about the cordial co-operation of all functionaries and men of influence in the regeneration of the gulph of chaos then existing ; and it was not until the Attorney-General detected the use which had been made of Kloppe's affidavit for private party purposes, that I was obliged to abandon all hope of cordiality with the person who had thus used it.

“ With respect to the great Zeko affair, I need not detain the Court. If it were necessary, the witnesses are within your reach to prove *more* than even the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons ever received on the subject ; but the British Government and nation have made up their minds, and all Colonial bluster and misrepresentation may safely be allowed to exhaust itself against the irresistible force of truth. And if there had ever been the slightest weight attached to all the ravings in defence of injustice and bloodshed, which distinguished the ‘hurricane in the puddle,’ let me ask, in the name of consistency and common sense, what becomes of the whole chain of eloquence and reasoning on the subject, since the great champion of the cause—the cause on which the fate of the Colony depended, since Mr. Peter Erasmus the leader of the host of witnesses, who were to invali-

date my evidence ; whose mere signature was to prevent my ever setting a foot on my native shore again—when this same man is supposed (certainly not by me) to have been proved to be a perjured man, by the very men whose main prop he was in this same Zeko affair? well might this Court, therefore, ask, ‘ why expend so much time, pen, ink, and paper on such a matter ? ’

“ I leave it, then, to its merits and its friends ; but Erasmus himself must accompany me through the case under review, to which I most earnestly beg the Court’s serious attention.

“ Those who found this witness so useful in their attacks upon me, will hardly admit their case to be so utterly worthless, as it must necessarily have been, if he is not to be believed ; and when he swears one thing, and his friends exactly the contrary, it requires great discrimination in deciding on which side the truth lies ; but where he is supported by the Field-Cornet Buchner, whose veracity has been in no way impeached, he appears to have decidedly the advantage, and I must assume him to have stated what was fact.

“ From these men, then, as well as from other sources, we know that my obnoxious evidence reached this place unfortunately at a moment when the country had been plunged into all the horrors of a barbarian inroad, when hundreds of loyal good men, the majority of whom had never participated in the aggressions, which had gradually led to that inroad, had been destroyed or reduced to beggary, when many had profited by that *same* inroad, and when many more expected still greater advantages from the measures which had been adopted as the result thereof. That the enquiry of the Aborigines Committee would lead to the disappointment of many sanguine hopes was already apparent ; and that those, whose testimonies

or opinions were likely to produce a new policy, would be extremely unpopular, was quite natural. No crisis could, therefore, be more propitious to the destruction of an individual supposed to be hostile to what was then called the colonial interests.

“Excitement was at its height, a little agitation would set the mass in a blaze. The deaths of Zeko and his followers, which were not deemed worthy of notice either by the Government or the local functionaries, when calm enquiry and the discovery of truth were possible, was now to be scrutinized, through those whose interests it was to mystify. Accordingly, Erasmus is directed by military authority to come with his witnesses. The evidence of these was, of course, what was expected; and we have it upon oath from Erasmus himself, that he was told by Colonel Somerset, Captain Campbell, and others, that if *would* my evidence given in England proved true he ~~could~~ surely be hanged; that this was confirmed to him by extracts from my evidence explained by Mr. Jarvis; that he (Erasmus) was consequently in such a state of excitement and irritation that he put his signature to a statement drawn up by Mr. Jarvis without knowing up to this instant what that statement contained; merely upon the assurance of Mr. Jarvis, that it was good for him to do so, that it would not bring him into trouble, as he (Mr. Jarvis) and Captain Campbell would help him. In other words, as sworn to by Field-Cornet Buchner, ‘I should be brought so far that I should never set a foot in the country again.’

“Now, be it remembered, that this same statement, of which the supposed author swears that he does not know the contents—appears on the minutes of the Aborigines Committee, and was intended to invalidate the whole of my evidence. Strange to say, how correctly all this was appreciated in the right quarter.

"Then, again, you have it before you that Mr. Edward Norton, one of the Justices who had been engaged in the enquiry, exhibited his impartiality and peculiar fitness for the search of unprejudiced truth in the matter, by offering this same Erasmus pecuniary assistance to prosecute me, assuring him that many more would come to his aid in the same manner.

"Add to all this my identification ever since the commencement of the late Kaffir war with Dr. Philip, a gentleman with whom I have had the misfortune of entertaining the most acrimonious differences, between whom and myself up to this moment there is nothing more than the most common acquaintance ; but to the rancorous, unjust persecution of whom I shall ever scorn to lend myself.

"May it please you to figure to yourself the condition of the community here, under the above circumstances, and fancy Erasmus in the state of mind as represented by himself, meeting Klopper just arrived upon his private business, to whom he exposes his own predicament. Klopper at once remembers that many years back (he calls it in 1819) I had shot a Kaffir. That of course was very *àpropos* ; but then, what is shooting a Kaffir ? it may have been necessary, it may have been a duty ! it was on commando, in war. But this Klopper can easily remedy. He, therefore, makes the Kaffir to be quietly herding a flock of cattle, to have been unarmed ; the idea strikes him that it would have been very easy to take the Kaffir prisoner ; that I was so close when I shot him that the wadding of the gun put fire to the rushes, under which he crept ; and that after shooting him, I said to one Botha, ' Now we can revenge ourselves to day ; you for your brother, and I for my father.' Such a case was worth having, and it was

grasped at accordingly. But before proceeding in the matter, let us dispose of this man's testimony at once. The above he gave on 2nd February, 1836; but on the 8th of the same month, two years later, he positively swears before a Commissioner of the Supreme Court, *that he had never sworn that I shot a Kaffir in 1819; nor that the Kaffir was unarmed; nor that he could easily have been taken prisoner; nor that I had said a word about revenging my father's death. He had seen the wadding of the gun smoke, but no bushes burn; nor would he ever seize a Kaffir who had crept into a bush for fear of being stabbed to death.* This was last February; and before this Court he has sworn *that no man upon the Commando would have ventured to take the Kaffir*, and admits that he wilfully swore false when he states that *I had said nothing about revenging my father's death.* Moreover, this story about revenge, the burning of the bush, and the herding of the cattle, are proved by numbers of the witnesses to be pure fabrications; and to Gruning, this same Kloppe stated, that he did not come up before the Kaffir was shot, and then heard that I had shot him. With such a witness then commenced the charge against me. That Erasmus in his state of excitement, terror, and irritation should be glad to avail himself of Kloppe's information is very intelligible; but I must again beg leave to question the propriety of the Magistrate receiving such testimony under such circumstances. Even Mr. E. Norton, with all his fury, shrinks from the task, for reasons which do him honour.

"It was not within the Magistrate's jurisdiction, and the manner of taking it was quite illegal and irregular—a voluntary affidavit it was not; for as much as Kloppe's oath is worth, he has shown to the contrary. Even Mr. Jarvis has made oath that Erasmus said, '*Go and*

summons him yourself, for he won't mind me.' Voluntary affidavits are generally brought prepared before a Magistrate, who seldom looks at their contents. Whereas the original of Klopper's is written in the Magistrate's own hand, *whilst the erasures and numerous corrections show that it was produced with great difficulty and vacillation* ; but the bill of expenses settles the question at once. Klopper was no witness in the enquiry about Zeko ; he was not summoned nor heard in that case, though nominally paid as a witness therein—he swears that he received the money as a witness about my shooting the Kaffir, and for nothing else, and that he obtained a gift in addition. About this there can be no mistake, for his affidavit and receipt for the money are of the same date, and prove that he at least *then* spoke the truth, when he came out of the office and told Erasmus, 'I have *given* my evidence and received my payment.' But what becomes of this affidavit so irregularly and illegally taken ? Is it sent to the Attorney-General, or if it be a political matter whereby to crush me, is it sent to the Government ? No ; a copy of it goes to a private individual—to Mr. Chase, who sends it to Colonel Wade.

"For the privacy of this proceeding, the plea is altogether inadmissible ; nothing could more effectually add to the excitement produced by the perversion of my evidence, than the secrecy and mystery here observed.

"Erasmus, also, according to the orders of the Civil Commissioner, summoned two men of the name of Bester and Prinsloo—the former travels about *sixty*, and the latter *seventy miles* to Graham's Town, and on being asked by the Civil Commissioner, declare *they never saw me shoot a Kaffir*.

"They ask their expenses, but are put off with a refer-

ence to Erasmus, who of course cannot pay them, whilst Kloppe receives *payment for six days, and a present*, though he had only come from *Mrs. Howse's store to the office*.

"We now come to the Civil Commissioner's letter to Mr. O'Reilly, calling upon him to take Botha's affidavit. Does it say, 'Captain Stockenstrom has been accused of killing a Kaffir under extraordinary circumstances in the year this or that: pray inquire into the matter?' No; Kloppe's evidence is almost given verbatim, in an unofficial communication, mixed up with an affair about Major Dundas's horse, in which the moral perception of the very men upon whose testimony my fate was made dependent, were called in question.

"With this guide before him, the Justice of the Peace, Mr. O'Reilly, proceeds to summon Botha, charges me with *homicide*, and still swears that he did not consider it a judicial proceeding. Botha appears accordingly, and contrary to all rule and custom, the Magistrate shuts himself up with this man, *excluding even his messenger and clerk*. This was out of delicacy to me! So was the charge of homicide, I suppose. From this secret inquisition there came forth Botha's affidavit. Mr. O'Reilly swears that the messenger heard the account from Botha himself, and communicated it to him (Mr. O'Reilly), previous to the latter appearing before him (Mr. O'Reilly), exactly as laid down in the affidavit; but the messenger *swears positively that Botha never said a word to him on the subject, nor he to Mr. O'Reilly*; whilst Mr. Verster (another Justice of the Peace) swears that a man named Naudé, who lately died, and with whom Botha lodged when he came to give his evidence, assured him that Botha had given him (Naudé) quite a *different* account of the transaction to what said affidavit is now found to contain.

"This affidavit, then, *so obtained*, Mr. O'Reilly sent to

the Civil Commissioner, Captain Campbell, who, on the 15th October, 1836, informed me that *he did not preserve it*. He also wrote to the Secretary to Government on 11th August, 1837 (and the point is too important a feature of the case to be mere matter of inadvertence), *positively asserting that he had not allowed this affidavit to be seen by any other person than himself, whilst Mr. Moodie swore before the Supreme Court on the 28th February last, that he (Captain Campbell) had sent him a copy thereof as soon as he himself received it*. Now! you have had these affidavits before you—you have conscientiously scrutinized every passage—you have not been able to find one single witness who knew anything about the *Sunday* or the *dissatisfaction of going out on such a day*. Not one who made the children of *nine* years old to be less than *sixteen*. You have found the expression *revenge*, which this affidavit places long before the shooting, as well as the *burning rubbish*, entirely false; and instead of my ordering a patrol to go and shoot ten or twelve Kaffirs who were coming to us in a friendly way—you have seen me *save the lives of seven by rushing in between the levelled muskets of the Boers and the intended victims*. Whether all this is not sufficient to stamp this affidavit with the mark of falsehood and malice from beginning to end, I most readily leave to the Court to decide.

“We next proceed to Graaff Reinet, whither it now appears Captain Campbell sent, directed to Mr. Moodie, copies of the affidavits both of Kloppe and Botha, *though, as we have seen, the latter was as late as the 11th August, 1837, asserted to have been seen by no one but Captain Campbell himself*. Unfortunately, the letter which accompanied these copies, as well as another one written to Mr. Chase, is not forthcoming.

“The Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of said District, Mr. Van Ryneveld, in his letter of 25th April, 1836, informed the Government with his reasons for entering upon the enquiry. *‘A considerable degree of uneasiness and apprehension among the inhabitants, discontent against the supposed intentions of the Government, a fear of dangerous excitement, made him consider this enquiry a measure tending to the public tranquillity of the District committed to his care, and an act of justice both to the public and the individual.’*

“He has sworn before this Court that his motives for summoning C. Pretorius were his having been often on Commando with me, his being a man of integrity and honour, and his having in the year 1829 and 1830 given him (Mr. Van Ryneveld) the same account which he since gave in his deposition. The affidavit of Klopper and Botha could not influence him in selecting Pretorius, for *he has positively sworn that he never saw either, before they appeared in print; but Mr. Moodie just as positively swore before the Supreme Court, on 18th February last, that he did show Mr. Van Ryneveld Klopper’s affidavit, and further, that it was applied to guide the other Magistrates and himself in the subsequent examinations of Aukamp and Pretorius.* About the examination of these men taking place in open or closed Court, there is also a great discrepancy between Messrs. Van Ryneveld and Moodie, though of minor import. Before these two Magistrates then, assisted by a third, Mr. Lloyd, assembled in the Court room, from whence even the door waiter was excluded, did, on the 7th April, 1836, Field-Cornet Aukamp appear, make oath and depose.

“A mere comparison of this man’s deposition of the above date with that given before this Court, is sufficient to characterise the *whole proceeding.* *He has sworn*

before you, in the presence of Mr. Van Ryneveld (one of the three Justices concerned) that notwithstanding his repeated protestations, that it was impossible for him to give a proper statement, that he was afraid he might err, and that they should not ask him any questions, they still continued to press him, until he filled about a foolscap sheet, full of what he admits for the greater part to be untrue. Let the world merely look at and appreciate this proceeding, and I ask nothing more.

“On the 14th of the same month of April appeared before the same Messrs. Moodie and Lloyd the said Pretorius, who turns Botha's two children of nine years of age into two men of four or five and twenty, each armed with more than one assegai; he swears I shot one of them, who might easily have been taken, but that he would have had no reluctance to shoot the man himself, because Cuyler and Frazer had ordered that no Kaffirs should be taken, but all killed. Now this man mentioned the same case to Mr. Stretch in 1827, as a narrow escape on my part, when he took credit for saving my life by giving me timely warning to fire; in 1829 or 1830, he gave it to Mr. Van Ryneveld as a courageous act of mine, he has since given Enslin and Olivier different versions of the same subject; and at last, after travelling to Cape Town in company with Swanepoel, Ryneveld, and Wagner, swears before the Supreme Court, on the 1st March last, that the said Kaffirs may have been fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years of age, and that he was not certain but that he thought he had seen an assegai through the rubbish.

“Now let me beg of any unbiassed man to look at the four affidavits above quoted, and say with the circumstances detailed, whether any, the slightest, reliance can be placed upon them.

“But here I must revert to the origin of this Graaff Reinets enquiry. It has been clearly proved, that the causes alleged by the Civil Commissioner, as having actuated him, did *not* exist. There was *not* the least symptom of dangerous excitement in the Graaff Reinets District, and though emigration had commenced long before, it still continued. You have seen that *not one single* emigrant is known to have left the Colony in consequence of my return as Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Van Ryneveld has also sworn that he was actuated by a feeling of justice towards me. Now he has also sworn that Pretorius gave him, in 1829 or 1830, *the same* account of my killing a Kaffir as he subsequently gave in his affidavit, that Pretorius described it as a courageous act, that he (Mr. Van Ryneveld) checked him severely for mentioning the thing, because he differed with Pretorius as to the character of the transaction, and because he could not credit the statement he received. He (Mr. Van Ryneveld), it appears, then, had the highest opinion of me, and he found the farmers full of esteem and affection for me.

“I differ with Mr. Van Ryneveld in the subject of justice. As he does not know whether Pretorius is a courageous man, I can assure him that he may have turned a drunkard since I knew him ; but that he was never known to shrink from danger when duty called, and would not have considered the killing of a helpless, defenceless man a courageous act. But the idea of trying to hush up an occurrence to which there had been hundreds of witnesses, is rather new, and it strikes me that the very best mode of setting malice at work is by mixing up mystery with the most simple occurrences. Then, I think, was the time for enquiry, if there appeared anything against me. There was a chance of justice when

the Civil Commissioner had such a high opinion of me, and the witnesses were well disposed, but when agitation had produced the dangerous excitement which the Civil Commissioner speaks of justice was out of the question, and how could the farmers be expected to recollect the particular circumstances of the death of a Kaffir *a quarter of a century ago*, when the Civil Commissioner has forgotten so important a point as what those *intentions of Government were*, which he officially reported as likely to *endanger the public tranquillity of his District only two years ago*. The fact is, that up to the moment of the farmers being told that I had instigated the Kaffirs to the last war, any man who would have dared in the Graaff Reinet District to accuse me of killing an unarmed Kaffir, would have been loudly hooted as a vile and malicious slanderer. This was too well known, and to poison the minds of the people became good policy.

“ Thus, then, stood matters. I had obtained possession of the four affidavits, of Klopper, Botha, Aukamp, and Pretorius, when Mr. Musgrave advised the action against Captain Campbell as the best means of getting at the truth.

“ I have no right to hold Captain Campbell responsible for the proceedings of his agents, beyond what he authorised ; but it has been shown here how Captain Bowker, late of the Provisionals, went through one part of the country, asking the farmers *whether they had any complaints against me*, telling them that *now the time was come to help Captain Campbell, and be revenged for my having reviled them in my evidence*. You also heard how another Captain of the late Provisionals, named Biddulph, also riding about to collect evidence for Captain Campbell, advised the people to *emigrate to avoid the iron yoke*

of Philip and Stockenstrom, in which they would be yoked like oxen, if I should gain the cause.

“That a set of ignorant, half illiterate men should, under all such circumstances, on a *long journey travelling together*, in trying to recollect transactions which they had *almost entirely forgotten*, be brought to compare notes, and agree upon some points which they believe may injure their denounced common enemy, is nothing more than natural; we consequently soon see Swanepoel on the road to Cape Town with Pretorius among his companions; we find it sworn deliberately that those men are going to emigrate, and that, therefore, it is necessary that they be heard before a Commissioner *some time before the trial*, though Swanepoel swears he never intended to go, unless everybody else should go; we have seen this man’s evidence given *six weeks before the trial*; we have seen how this evidence was translated, to be left with him to *refresh his memory on trial*; we have heard him swear how the Attorney *offered* him this translation, and he *refused to take it*; we know the amount he received as a witness; we have heard his version of the case in question as given to Enslin when he was *unprepared*; we have witnessed his prevarication about my telling him that the Commando went expressly to revenge my father’s death, and that I should return home as soon as I should have cooled my blood by shooting a Kaffir, and finally we find him convicted of, and punished for a heinous moral crime during my administration as Landdrost of Graaff Reinet—yet this man’s evidence became public *previous* to the three other witnesses, Van der Merwe, Koen, and Van der Berg, proceeding on their journey to Cape Town in company with the above-named *Captain Biddulph with the iron yoke of Philip and Stockenstrom before their eyes.*

But what did they do after all? It was said that the legal issue hinged altogether upon whether I had shot an unarmed Kaffir. *This not one of these witnesses did or could say.* They had not seen, they had not searched, some had not even looked.

“I have brought the whole of these men here before you, though I know they did not dare to unswear what they had sworn in Cape Town ; but my object has been gained even from them. You have heard that so far from a deliberate, cold-blooded act, the alleged transaction was the hot pursuit of a foe, all finished in an instant, and that not one of them would have hesitated firing the same shot, or dared to seize the Kaffir, every one believing themselves then to be in a dangerous place.

“So much for the witnesses opposed to me ; and now I come to what I flatter myself I have actually proved before this Court.

“Every witness conversant with Commando service has sworn that it was the established rule on Commando to shoot the Kaffirs wherever they were found, and that the sparing their lives was the exception.

“It has been shown that I have repeatedly adopted this exception, and invariably recommended its adoption, inculcating on all occasions the duty of abstaining from unnecessary bloodshed.

“It has also been shown that no one would ever seize a Kaffir in a bush ; but being in a bush would fire whenever he observed a movement, as his own destruction would be the certain consequence of delay or hesitation.

“Yet it has been shown that I did, notwithstanding, in one instance at least, myself bring a Kaffir out of the bush, and set him at liberty in the midst of war. But now, gentlemen, we come to a most important point, viz.,

what was the Commando, on which the two Kaffirs are said to have been killed, sent out for, and what did it do? We have at last succeeded in proving that the one alluded to is that of 1813, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel (then Captain) Frazer, ordered out by His Excellency, then Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir J. F. Cradock, in charge of Colonel Vicars, who, being taken ill at Van Aardt's post, deputed Frazer in his stead.

"I have had the good fortune to find the very letter sent by Sir John Cradock to Colonel Vicars, dated Assegai Bush, Saturday, 27th November, 1813. I beg leave to hand this letter to the Court. It so fully points out the causes and objects of the Commando in question, that all further observations on my part are almost superfluous. It details several cruel outrages committed by the Kaffirs upon the Colony about that time. It orders the adoption by Colonel Vicars, with his Commando, of *the most summary measures of intimidation, punishment, and vindication*, if every beast stolen should not be forthwith restored. It *expresses* the order to *lay waste and destroy*, making an exception in favour of the *old, the infirm, the women, and the children*, and it expressly enjoins the execution of the above orders in the *plainest and most unequivocal manner*.

"By the Frontier orders, dated Van Aardt's post, Great Fish River, 30th November, 1813, which I also beg leave to submit, it appears that the execution of these arduous measures of severity devolved upon one of the most humane, honourable men—one whom I was proud to consider as a bosom friend to his dying day—I mean Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer. From the same order, I conclude, that I must have joined his party with the Graaff Reinnet Boers at Opperman's.

“I beg to observe that I speak entirely from what has been here proved, as I have but the faintest possible recollection of the transaction in question, being when they occurred a youth of one and twenty.

“It is evident that great things were expected of this Commando, as Captain Andrews, at whose post Colonel Vicars remained behind sick, states that on the return of the party, he (Colonel Vicars) expressed great disappointment and annoyance at the little which had been done.

“Several witnesses have sworn that Frazer remained at least one day over at the Karoomo to give time for a parley with the Chief Kaza.

“It is very likely that, having long waited in vain for the promised restitution of the cattle, and finding on visiting the Chief's kraal that the latter had deceived him, and fled with his people and cattle into the bush, Major Frazer might lose all patience, and exclaim, as Pretorius swears, ‘Now I shall execute the Governor's orders, and shoot every Kaffir indiscriminately.’ It is also possible that galloping back to the camp in the same temper of mind, and seeing Kaffirs crossing the country, that he would call out to the Boers, ‘Shoot them all ;’ but then I might swear he knew not the circumstances under which those Kaffirs were there, and that he never would have forgiven me if I had not interfered to save their lives, as I am said to have done. But Frazer's memory requires not my defence ; his character is beyond the reach of detraction, and I might safely say, ‘who would not be dead to leave so pure a name.’ Under the orders of such a man, then, the Commando next day entered what is now called Fuller's Kloof—well known to every member of this Court—a short tributary branch of the Blinkwater. Into the jungles and ravines in this neigh-

bourhood the Kaffirs had fled with the cattle. It has been proved to you to a demonstration, that it is not in the nature of things that under such circumstances there would be unarmed Kaffirs, much less children, or cattle quietly grazing anywhere near. The two Kaffirs are sworn to have been shot where Fuller's Kloof joins the Blinkwater. Three hundred men scattered through that Kloof must have been in tolerable close contact. The orders were as usual to *seize the cattle and shoot the Kaffirs*. Van der Nest, lately a Field-Cornet, now an Elder of the Church, as respectable a man as any in the country, has sworn that a *general charge was ordered and made, that within fifteen or twenty yards of the spot where the two Kaffirs were shot, an assegai passed close by him ; he heard the cry, ' the Kaffir throws,' he got a glimpse of the Kaffir, in whose direction a couple of shots were fired, he heard the people say, ' the Kaffir is dead,' he saw the dead body, and heard of another, which he is not sure whether he saw or not—he saw an assegai in the hand of one of the men standing round the body, but did not ask or search for more*. All this was about the work of *two minutes*, whilst the bush about was *full of Kaffirs*, and so totally free from anything extraordinary was the whole affair, that this witness only *heard after some time, incidentally* mentioned, that that Kaffir which he had seen dead was shot by me. This man's evidence I recommend to very particular scrutiny. Klaas Prinsloo confirms the whole of Van der Nest's statement, but denies that I killed a Kaffir or fired at all, and swears that he was not separated from me. In this, I think, he is mistaken, owing to the long time which has elapsed, and the hurry and confusion of the charge described. Then, where was there time for deliberate killing ? William Brass, Adolph Appel, and Stoffel Boesac—all these three were *close by*,

heard *five or six shots* fired, ran forward, and saw two *full-grown, well-armed Kaffirs*, just shot dead. Marthinus Constable came up soon after, heard of two Kaffirs having been killed, and that they were armed ; Jan Klaas came later, saw the two dead bodies, and found them two *grown up men with beards*. Klaas Paulus and Roelof Bantem were present when the two Kaffirs were shot. Both heard the cry of '*Catch the Kaffirs*'—the former is not sure whether it came from Major Frazer or myself—the latter heard both say so. They heard the Boers answer, '*It is impossible, the Kaffirs throw.*' *At once several shots were fired, and two full-grown, well-armed Kaffirs were killed.* All agree that this was the work of an instant ; *whilst numbers of Kaffirs were in the bush and the hills around.*

"Now I ask once more, where was the time and the opportunity for a deliberate act, rushing through a river lined and covered with bush, with a large body of men under the eye of my commanding officer. If, indeed, in this hurry Pretorius called to me '*Fire, there comes the assegai,*' it is more than likely I did fire ; at least, I should do so under similar circumstances to-morrow. This man, as we have seen, *boasted to Mr. Stretch in 1827 of having saved my life by these words ; in 1829 or 1830 he mentioned it to Mr. Van Ryneveld, as a courageous act on my part ; and Frazer, immediately on his return to Captain Andrew's post, mentioned to Colonel Vicars a miraculous escape which I had had by shooting one of the only two Kaffirs that had fallen on that Com-mando, who had an assegai levelled at me.*

"And now, gentlemen, I leave the matter in your hands ; here you have a case which from December, 1813, till February, 1836, was never heard or thought of, except as a praiseworthy execution of military duty, *suddenly*

distorted into a wanton act of cruelty to serve party purposes. My confidence in your integrity and honour is unbounded ; my gratitude for your patience and impartiality more than I can express. May it ever be the fate of every victim of slander and persecution to stand before such a tribunal. On the Secretary of State's justice also every honest man relies in safety ; and beyond justice I hope never to have to ask anything,—clemency I shall never implore, except from that quarter whence he himself will need it. I know the man ; justice all parties may be sure of. But with every possible deference to both you and him, I may add that there is another earthly tribunal whose verdict is of infinitely greater importance to me than yours or his. I stand before my own conscience. You, who are almost strangers to me, have heard my character and my proceedings through life, from some of the witnesses. Many more were ready to come forward. Let me only name Colonel Culyer, who was only detained by a sudden fit of illness, and had there been time, you might have heard from others of equal weight. With the approbation of *such* men—with the approbation of every man of worth who ever condescended to study my motives and acts—with the approbation of a scrupulous conscience, I have waded through an ocean of difficulties—look with calm satisfaction to the past, and a firm determination to the future—fear no scrutiny into any stage of my career, and repeat that the whole matter, upon which your time has been expended, is a tissue of malice and falsehood from beginning to end.”

By all three of these judges he was most honourably and fully acquitted ; the conspirators and their conspiracy was at last unmasked, nor have they ever succeeded in upsetting one word of the evidence before the Committee of the House of

Commons. It will suffice here to record the written judgment forwarded by Sir G. Napier, the President of the Court of Enquiry, to the Secretary of State, which is as follows :—

‘ Graham’s Town, Cape of Good Hope,
“ June 11, 1838.

“ After mature deliberation upon the evidence before the Court of Enquiry respecting the grave charge against Captain Stockenstrom, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope, of having, twenty-four years ago, ‘shot an unarmed, helpless Kaffir boy while hiding under some drift-wood, and in a cold-blooded, deliberate manner,’ I have come to the following opinions :—

“ 1st. That Captain Stockenstrom was on the Commando in Kaffirland in the year 1813.

“ 2nd. That the Commando was under the orders of Major Frazer, an officer of high character and honour, and well known for his great humanity towards the Kaffirs on all occasions.

“ 3rd. That the General Orders promulgated on that Commando by the Governor and Commander in-Chief were to destroy and lay waste, and these orders were consequently issued to the troops and burghers on Commando, and also to shoot all the male Kaffirs, as appears by evidence on the Minutes of the Court.

“ 4th. That the Kaffirs on that day were in the bush on the banks of the Blinkwater River, and various other parts, as clearly shown in evidence, and that during the general rush which was made to scour the bush on the banks of the river, Captain Stockenstrom’s party saw two Kaffirs concealing themselves under some drift-wood in the bed of the river, and upon a cry of ‘the Kaffirs throw,’ Captain Stockenstrom and others fired and killed two Kaffirs.

"5th. That although several shots were fired, only two Kaffirs were found dead ; but it appears clear to me, from the evidence of several witnesses, and the statement sworn to by Captain Andrews, an old and highly respectable officer, respecting Major Frazer's report, which Captain Andrews saw him write in his bedroom at his house, that those two Kaffirs were armed with assegais, and were not *helpless boys, but grown up young men.*

"6th. That all the witnesses who were present on that Commando fully agreed that Captain Stockenstrom, the day before the shooting of the two Kaffirs, saved the lives of seven others, who were on the point of being shot in the camp by running forward, and placing himself between them, and the pointed guns of the burghers, who were just going to put them to death.

"7th. That from all the foregoing facts and circumstances I am *clearly and decidedly* of opinion that Captain Stockenstrom in shooting the Kaffirs acted according to *orders* and the established custom of Commando warfare against the Kaffirs, as stated by all the witnesses ; and I *therefore fully and honourably acquit him of shooting an unarmed young Kaffir boy in a cold-blooded and cruel manner.* He shot the Kaffir in the bush as any young officer of one and twenty years old, or, indeed, any officer, would have done under the same circumstances and orders. I further declare it to be my opinion, according to the statement of every one of the evidences, without a single exception, that Captain Stockenstrom, although it was only a year after the barbarous murder of his father by the Kaffirs, was totally incapable of a cruel cold-blooded murder of a Kaffir boy in order to revenge that father's death, the crime attempted to be fixed upon him by his enemies.

"8th, and lastly. It appears to me that the Civil

Commissioner, Captain Campbell, certainly acted very injudiciously as a Magistrate by delaying to send the depositions of Klopper and Botha to the Governor; but in this I do not conceive he was actuated by any wish to injure Captain Stockenstrom, and I am therefore, in justice to that Magistrate as also to Mr. Van Ryneveld, called upon to acquit them of conspiracy against the Lieutenant-Governor; but I am of opinion that there were persons who, in collecting evidence against Captain Stockenstrom, did not conduct their enquiries in a fair or open manner, and that pains were taken to excite the angry feelings of the Burghers or Boers against the Lieutenant-Governor, Captain Stockenstrom, for his evidence given so fearlessly before the Committee of the British House of Commons.

(Signed) "GEORGE NAPIER,

"President of the Court of Enquiry, Governor and
Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope."

In his judgment, which is as manly and straightforward a document as was ever penned, Major Charters says, "I *fully, clearly, and honourably* acquit Captain Stockenstrom of all and every part of the charge brought against him."

Captain Dundas, whose judgment covers seventeen foolscap folios, concludes in these words: "Under these circumstances, and taking into consideration the high character which Captain Stockenstrom has invariably borne, as well as the peculiar character of Kaffir warfare, it is just to conclude that he must have acted under a reasonable belief of concealed danger, and in the performance of a lawful military act."

In his covering letter conveying the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry to the Secretary of State, Sir

George Napier says he had selected Captain Dundas and Major Charters, because these officers had only recently arrived in the Colony and were quite unacquainted with any of the parties concerned, or connected with those Colonial political feelings on either side, which have so long been in hostility to each other, and so detrimental to the public welfare. I have to assure your Lordship that the Court which was occupied from ten o'clock till nearly five every day *for a fortnight* has done its utmost to elicit the truth, and do justice to every individual concerned, and we feel conscious of having performed our duty without partiality, favour, or affection, and to the best of our judgment

And Lord Glenelg, in his reply to Sir G. Napier, says : "Having attentively considered these proceedings, it affords me much satisfaction to assure you that I entirely concur in the judgment by which you and your coadjutors on the enquiry have absolved the Lieutenant-Governor from the odious imputation which had been circulated against him. I deeply regret that this investigation was rendered necessary by the manner in which the charge was advanced, and I feel it due to Captain Stockenstrom to state that the high character for humanity which he has acquired and long sustained has not in my opinion been in the slightest degree affected by the enquiry, and that the confidence of Her Majesty's Government in his qualifications for the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the District is wholly unimpaired."

In a long and admirable Despatch addressed on the 2nd of July, 1838, a few days after the trial by the Lieutenant-Governor to Sir George Napier, he says :—

"It is not the destruction of one Kaffir, or of one thousand Kaffirs, that could have exposed me to the persecu-

tion of all that is base in the community and robbed a large family of the honest earnings of many years. It is the hatred of oppression, the aversion to bloodshed, the attempt to secure the salvation of the whites by making them respect the lives and rights of their coloured fellow-creatures, that all these engines of malice and treachery have been set in motion. Yet let it not be supposed that I for one moment ever repented of the course which I have pursued. If it should cost me my life, or drive me to beggary, I look with greater pride upon the last three years of my life than upon all those of the most enthusiastic popularity. I have no language fully to express my sense of gratitude for the honour done me by Lord Glenelg in selecting me, a stranger to him,—merely on the report of my character, as an humble instrument in the execution of his grand design of universal philanthropy and justice throughout the British dominions ; so noble and glorious is the cause that he may rely on entire, however tardy success, as we rely on the existence of a Providence ; and the happiness of future millions, the gratitude of after ages, will be his due reward.

“It is this conviction which enabled me to carry through and adhere to the system which his Lordship sent me to introduce here. All the contrivances of grasping cupidity, the virulence of a disappointed faction, the abuse of the scurrilous vulgar, were unable to turn me one hair’s breadth from the principles of his Lordship’s policy. It is his system, not my measures, which has prevented upon this Frontier for near two years, the war, rapine, and massacre which I found ready to break forth with renewed fury, and all checked in defiance of agitation, of the provoking insults heaped upon the natives, as well as the bordering blacks, and

of the seditious doctrines which pervade the columns of the unprincipled part of the press. It is the same system which enables you at a period when the majority of a nation is almost starving from the consequences of a ruinous war, and the failure of their crops, when absolute want multiplies petty depredation (though not to the extent reported) to maintain with a handful of soldiers a Frontier weakened by emigration, caused by the spread of disloyalty, by mismanagement, and misrule; and to control that nation so suffering by your influence over their Chiefs, and by the full confidence which has been established in the good faith and honour of the British Government, so that at the very moment when panics are attempted to be created by industrious reports of intended inroads, you have the said Chiefs (instead of taking advantage of the wickedness of our agitators) coming forward at your mere beck, as if altogether dependent upon your mercy, and co-operating for the preservation of tranquillity in any way you choose to dictate. The supplementary treaty with a branch of the same nation, whereby you have just strengthened your Frontier as well as advanced another step in the improvement of our barbarous neighbours, is additional proof of the working of that system, and the sentiments which you have heard within these two days from the lips of the Chiefs Eno and Stock, no less than the readiness of the tribe of Slambie to enter into your views, show that even if the remaining clans harbour any hostile feeling (of which I have not the slightest fear), the same line of policy would nullify their ability to distrust us.

“It is also that system of justice and humanity, which if steadily persevered in, will by degrees restore to order the interior administration of the Colony, as well as reclaim those of Her Majesty’s subjects, who by im-

posture, fraud, and delusion have been driven into a course of barbarism and crime ; for it is but justice to ourselves to say that no Governors ever found a country in such a state."

But the famous Glenelg treaties, and the principles upon which they were founded, with the results which they achieved, will form the subject of the next chapter. The present one must close with a few lines from the autobiographical notes.

The conspirators believed themselves sure of their prey. One of them knew the materials and tools he had to work with so well that from the beginning he was heard to say, "Only get the case into the Supreme Court, more we do not desire." Now that the Court of Enquiry was going to open, "the unanimous verdict of the three judges being fresh before everybody's mind, no man in his senses could dream that the three warriors would dare to have opinions of their own on facts involving Law, and of course their decision must be a mere echo of that of wiser men." Their prints promised the world that faithful reports would be given of the proceedings. Their leader brought a shorthand writer with him ; but the latter having heard some of their own witnesses *in my presence*, already, on the second or third day sneaked off, and never was seen again there. By their consternation and fury alone could the *world* find out how the matter had ended. Napier became an object of their *love* almost as much as myself, although I never heard that he had the honour of being burnt in effigy like Dr. Philip and myself. The agony of the Supreme Court must be left to imagination. The majority had merely been dupes. *My leading Counsel (Oliphant), we must suppose, was in the third Heaven.*

When the triumphant illumination, in consequence of

the decision of the Supreme Court, was going on, Colonel Peddie came galloping to Prospect House, and found me reading 'Burnet's History of his own Times.' I had just buried a child, and my family were sixty miles away. When the Court of Enquiry broke up Sir G. Napier called and found me fast asleep on the sofa. Both these noble, high-principled men happened to use the same words, "You seem to take things very coolly." My reply to both and to others was the same, "These wretches believe themselves very clever. The plot was well arranged, every item regularly entered, except one, which they never thought of, and which must turn the balance against them. They make no allowance for the existence of a God. That made me quite easy." Both my friends were equally pleased.

CHAPTER XXV.

1838-1839.

1838-1839. Lieutenant-Governor leaves for England in *Larkins*—Wrecked off the Scillies—Landed from pilot-boat—Fears for *Larkins*—*Larkins* ashore—Journey to London—Interview with Lord Glenelg and others—Tenders resignation—Not accepted—Increase of salary—Change of Ministry—Lord Normanby—Major Charter's interference—Unpopularity—Dismissal—Sir G. Napier denies Major Charter's assertion—Charter's apology—Lord John Russell—Offers West Indian Government and Knighthood—Declined—Created Baronet—Lord Glenelg asks for military promotion for Stockenstrom—Refused—Sickening detention in London—Loss of money—Returns to Cape in *Larkins*—Wearisome voyage.

IMMEDIATELY after the Court of Enquiry into the murder charge had closed its proceedings, the Lieutenant-Governor applied to the Governor for leave to proceed to England, there to hear the verdict of the Court, and to tender his resignation. Leave having been granted, he embarked on board the *Larkins*, Captain Ingram, homeward bound on September 12, 1838. His Diary of this voyage is very full of interest. There were many passengers from India, some, who had shortly before been wrecked at Agulhas in the *Duke of Northumberland*, and were destined to be wrecked a second time before reaching England. The particulars of the wreck are thus given in the journal:—

“Sunday, Nov. 18.—At three A.M. I heard the report made to the Captain, ‘The Scilly Light on the larboard bow.’ ‘Very well,’ was the reply; ‘look out for the Wolf Rock next.’ About half-past six, my steward coming into my cabin with my coffee, joyfully informed

me that we were long past the Scillies, going seven knots. I had hardly said, 'I am glad to hear it,' when the officer on the watch shouted, 'Breakers ahead.' 'That is the Wolf,' rejoined the Captain, 'I shall go close by it.' He went leisurely up, and I followed him, delighted at the idea of seeing any part of England again; but hardly was on the poop, when the Captain, seeing his predicament, took off his cap, raised it in the air, and heaved a sigh, which might be heard in spite of the winds, and exclaimed, 'Up with the helm,' with several other necessary orders, adding, 'Good God, Mr. Walton, where are we?' Fortunately the reef, which could then be only seen dimly through the foggy dawn, was to windward of us, and the prompt obedience paid to the ready commands of the chief, brought the ship round in time; but before she had actually gone about, the passengers, who had come up (some half-dressed), agreed that from the poop any one might throw a stone, or shoot a partridge upon the nearest rock against which the breakers were dashing furiously. *One minute* more of darkness would have ended our earthly career there. At least, it was the opinion of everybody on board that the first shock would have knocked the ship to pieces, and that no one could possibly have been saved.

"The Captain, now determined to go no more to the South, attributing his present position to a strong current; but a pilot-boat, having just come in sight and hoisted her flag, we shortened sail and were boarded accordingly. The pilot then informed the Captain that he was among the Scilly Isles, so that the light seen some three or four hours earlier must have been that of some ship. The rock towards which we were hurrying was the Crim Rock, upon which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was lost, and as daylight advanced

the Scillies were clearly exhibited before us. Good Heavens, what an escape. Our faces showed what a strong sensation was prevalent; God grant that the impression may be lasting! The pilot, as usual, took charge of the ship, and steered her directly through the midst of the Scillies; but we had hardly proceeded under his auspices half an hour, as I was conversing with the Captain about our narrow escape, when the poor *Larkins* struck upon a hidden rock, so that the masts vibrated, and before the Captain could say, 'Hullo, Mr. Pilot, what are you doing,' she received a second shock. I now thought destruction inevitable, and looked out for the pilot-boat to put the women and children in; but she had gone some distance ahead. In the meantime the Captain called to the carpenter to 'sound the well.' The carpenter having done so, cried out, 'No water in the hold.' 'Well done, old *Larkins*,' said the Captain, 'I knew she could stand anything.' We were happy once more, believing we had again escaped. At least, immediate sinking we no longer expected; but the pumps being set to work in a few minutes, threw up clean sea-water and would not 'suck.' Then followed as many opinions as there were heads; but the most experienced thought that she might have a rock in her bottom, and that then she would go as soon as the rock should fall out. I advised that the women and children should be landed on the Scillies; but as the coast of England was so near, as the wind was fair, and as three pumps were likely to prevent the water gaining, it was deemed preferable to keep all the passengers on board. We passed close by the St. Agnes Lighthouse, and between the island of that name and St. Mary. The weather was very hazy.

"Hardly had we lost sight of the Scillies (and before we

could see the Land's End), when the mates were heard to say that the water was gaining fast and that the pumps were vomiting seaweed. It then struck me that if a cry of danger should be raised the panic might cause confusion, and some of the women and children might be drowned, and as the Captain seemed too much engaged, I hinted to the gentlemen who had families on board that it would be advisable to transfer the females and children to the pilot-boat before the alarm should become greater.

"The Captain, on hearing this, approved of the suggestion, and said he would go into the pilot-boat himself, and proceed with the passengers to Penzance to obtain assistance of fresh hands for the pumps. The women and children were safely transhipped, and the Captain and male passengers followed. It was with difficulty that the mates could be induced to spare two men from the pumps to assist with one of the ship's boats in taking the passengers into the pilot-boat. When the Captain came away from the ship, he gave orders that she should be *beached* at Penzance. The sailors gave him three hearty cheers when he stepped into the boat, and we heard the poor brave fellows singing as long as the sound could reach us.

"About sunset we saw the 'Wolf Rock' on our right, and soon after the 'Long Ships' on our left. The wind, which had been favourable the whole day, began to head us, and rendered our situation very disagreeable, with the frightful breakers dashing against the cliffs on our lee; but our greatest solicitude was now for the *Larkins*, 'and about sixty souls whom we had left on board of her.' With much difficulty we weathered the headlands west of Penzance, with which place we found the men in the pilot-boat little acquainted. The light at

the pier-head was put out, because the tide was out, and left not sufficient depth of water for large ships to come alongside ; we were, therefore, at a loss for which point to steer, and might have got among the breakers, but for the guidance of our Captain, who had landed here once before.

“ At last, at ten P.M., we found ourselves on the pier, and most cordially congratulated each other upon our narrow escape. I for myself confess that, though I said nothing to alarm others, I prepared my mind for a watery grave ever since the injury to the rudder. May it please God to let this deliverance make due impression.

“ In trying to help the women out of the *Larkins* I had fallen down the poop ladder, and had two fingers of my right hand knocked out of joint. My friend Rattray, with great presence of mind, replaced them, but the pain had been excruciating ever since, but not sufficient to prevent my getting several hours' sound sleep, after so much tossing.

“ Monday, November 19th.—My first enquiries were after the *Larkins*. Several boats had been sent out, but no word of her—the wind continuing foul. Poor fellows ! said I to myself repeatedly, as I walked about the delightful environs of this remote town of Old England. The pier at this port particularly interested me. What would not such a one in Table Bay and Port Elizabeth be worth ! The afternoon I passed in trying to write to my dear wife ; but my lame hand enabled me to get on but slowly.

“ Tuesday, 20th November.—We were delighted on the arrival of the mail with the intelligence that the *Larkins* had got safe on shore at Falmouth. For that place we started at four P.M., and reached it soon after seven, and put up at an hotel kept by several Pearces,

namesakes of our host at Penzance. In fact, half the population of Cornwall seem to go by that name.

“At Falmouth we were informed that soon after we left the *Larkins*, the water gained upon her very rapidly, and when the wind came foul the sailors began to lose their spirits, but continued at the pumps until she had six feet of water in the hold ; several signals of distress were fired, which brought to a Government steamer, who offered to take the crew on board, but said that as she carried despatches she could not wait. A Swedish vessel came to, and remained astern until several boats came off from the *Lizard*. The crew had, indeed, previously begun to show symptoms of impatience ; but the first mate (an excellent officer, named Walton), positively refused to abandon the ship. He had the boats hoisted out, but threatened to shoot the first man who should go out before the case was hopeless. Thus the vessel was kept afloat by the decision and perseverance of this officer, until by the assistance of the fresh men from the *Lizard*, she was brought into Falmouth, and had, at least, part of her cargo saved. Poor Captain Ingram has had to meet with much censure for leaving his ship. He thinks he was bound to go to obtain assistance. I hope it will not injure him any further. His loss must be very considerable already.

“Wednesday, 21st November.—Went on board, where all was chaos, noise, and confusion. There lies the poor *Larkins* fast in the mud with eight feet of water in the hold ; all the sugar and saltpetre washed out, but the silks, indigo, &c., supposed safe. It is doubted whether she will ever get out again. I was, indeed, happy to shake my old shipmates by the hand ; many of the common seamen came up, and did so most cordially,

saying—'Never expected to see your honour in this world no more. I knew we could never get home safe when we took the parson on board, and sailed on a Friday.'"

His journal contains a most interesting account of his journey by coach, through Exeter, Bristol, and Bath to Maidenhead, where first the railway was joined and utilised to Paddington, which was reached at 9 P.M. on the 27th November, and on the 29th the entry is :—

I reported my arrival in Downing Street, and was at once admitted by Lord Glenelg, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Stephens. Nothing can exceed the kindness with which they all three received me. Mr. Stephens, indeed, entered into details about my case, and what he is pleased to call my services, in terms which bespoke the strongest feelings of justice and goodwill. I left him, indeed, with an impression which will not be easily effaced from my mind, and made me ashamed of the opinion I formed from our first *rencontre* more than five years ago. Sir George Grey, upon Lord Glenelg's suggestion, requested of me to come the next day to peruse the Despatches, which the latter had written to the Cape with reference to me, believing as they both did that I should find them as satisfactory as they had been to themselves.

The chief of these Despatches was one addressed by Lord Glenelg to Sir George Napier, speaking in terms of strong disapproval of Sir B. D'Urban's conduct in receiving the four affidavits, which had been taken against the Lieutenant-Governor, concealing them from the accused party, and sending them home without giving him a chance of refuting the charges contained in them. He comments on his predecessor having neglected so much as to answer the Lieutenant-Governor's

requests for an enquiry,—as also upon the insufficiency of the affidavits owing to their manifest contradictions and incongruities to found any charge against the Lieutenant-Governor, and does not conceal his condemnation of Capt. Campbell's conduct throughout.

The correspondence which passed between the Lieutenant-Governor and Lord Glenelg and the other officials of the Colonial Office during this his second visit to England, is so voluminous that it would require a separate volume to place it before the public. A few extracts from some of the most important of these must suffice, commencing with one addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor to Lord Glenelg dated—

“London, December 10, 1838.

“MY LORD, * * * It would be a mere tedious repetition of sentiments often expressed were I to give my reasons for considering (as I most certainly do), your Lordship's approval of my conduct and the unimpaired confidence of Her Majesty's Government, the most triumphant honour which could have fallen to my lot, and the most ample compensation for the difficulties and losses with which I have had to contend. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that your Lordship's explicit and unqualified decision on the subject of the investigation, which took place in the Cape Colony by your Lordship's orders with respect to the charges propagated against me, renders every other consideration connected with the matter utterly insignificant, and removes from my mind every vestige of solicitude thereon.

“Sir G. Napier was fully justified in saying that I had communicated to him my intention not to return to the Cape, and it was but justice to His Excellency to add that, though the note was a private one, in which I stated ‘that I should use every exertion on my arrival in England to avoid resuming my office at the Cape,’ he

was specially authorised to communicate to your Lordship the contents of the note. . . . Your Lordship's hope so condescendingly expressed, that I may be induced to reconsider my determination of not returning to the Cape can only be responded to by the grateful acknowledgment that I shall ever be proud and most happy to serve Her Majesty under your Lordship's auspices in any capacity in which you may think my humble assistance available.

"It has been the height of my ambition to promote the welfare and improvement of the land of my birth. The policy pursued therein by your Lordship is an additional bait to that ambition ; but I trust your Lordship will excuse my drawing your attention to the conviction expressed by Sir G. Napier in his Despatch, addressed to your Lordship on the 2nd July last, 'that the offices of Lieutenant-Governor and Commandant of the Frontier ought to be combined in the same individual,' and that 'otherwise the public service cannot be carried on as it should be, and will materially suffer.' This opinion His Excellency, with his characteristic candour, communicated to me. He entertains it conscientiously—untainted by any personal consideration injurious to me—for I have the most convincing proofs of a contrary feeling on his part. As long as Sir George Napier and Colonel Hare hold their present situations, I think that—whatever be the military rank of the latter—the most entire reliance may be placed, that the interests of the Colony are in safe hands. To give full weight, therefore, to the view of His Excellency in such a cause appears to me due to his superior knowledge and longer experience in the service, as well as a sacrifice to which the public is entitled from me.

"Of so unworthy a motive as the triumph of an official

return to the Cape after the disappointment of my calumniators, I trust your Lordship will acquit me. Ninety-nine out of every hundred, at least, have deserved from me nothing but my utmost endeavours to promote their happiness. Many may be and are imposed upon and deceived, as ignorance reigns paramount; but the really wicked are few, and the only triumph, which either your Lordship or I have ever desired over any party, good or bad, is to be in any way conducive to the peace and prosperity of all. If, therefore, your Lordship should agree with His Excellency in his opinion, as above quoted, I beg explicitly to state my most anxious hope that no personal consideration with respect to myself may be allowed to stand in the way of that opinion being acted upon, assuring your Lordship and His Excellency, as I can do with the utmost sincerity, that any measure to be adopted in consequence will have my most cordial good wishes, and that I should consider it a real misfortune to be in any way instrumental in fettering your Lordship's arrangements. * * *

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

To which the Secretary of State replied under date, Downing Street, 20th December, 1838:—

"SIR.—I have received your letter of the 10th instant.

* * * * *

"I appreciate the spirit in which your letter is written, and especially the frank and honorable manner in which, after a candid exposition of your sentiments, you place your services at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government. I need scarcely observe that I have the utmost deference for Sir George Napier's judgment, and I should have been disposed, under the circumstances, to defer at

once to his opinion as to the expediency of the union of the Civil and Military authority on the Eastern Frontier; but on a full consideration of the whole subject, I cannot but think it desirable that you should resume the administration of the Government of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope. * * *

“ I am, &c.,
(Signed) “ GLENELG.”

Then followed a long correspondence upon various matters concerning and measures for improving the administration of affairs at the Cape, upon the insufficiency of the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor, and upon the question of compensation to him for the costs which he had incurred in defending his character. The salary was raised to £1500 per annum; but all compensation was refused.

“The increased pay,” writes Sir Andries, in a memorandum on this correspondence, “was to commence on the day of my departure for the Cape.

“A gentleman, who had every reason to be well acquainted with Downing Street intrigue, kindly advised me to ‘pack myself off before the new Minister could interfere with me, before questions should be asked about the Cape in either House, and before a Tory Government could retaliate upon me the trick which the Whigs played off against Lord Heytesbury. (Note—Lord Normanby had just succeeded Lord Glenelg in the office of Secretary for the Colonies.) . . . I had no cause to shrink from facing either Lord Normanby, any Parliamentary enquiry, or a Tory Government. Consequently, when I was ready to go back, instead of *packing myself off*, I waited upon Lord Normanby on April 4, and explicitly stated to him my position, being determined that he should not be left in the dark.

He did not make the most distant objection to my return to my Government, but expressed a wish to see me again on some matters connected with the Cape, but particularly about the affairs of Port Natal, about which he had had a deputation of London merchants, and stated his desire that I should put in writing the purport of the representation which I had made to him. . . . I had, in consequence of this announcement, drawn up a plan, which, of course, it is now altogether unnecessary to detail, but which I conceived would confer the greatest possible boon on my unhappy countrymen, who had emigrated from the Colony, as well as on the native tribes with whom they have come in collision, whilst it would, at the same time, have been perfectly satisfactory to Sir George Napier, Colonel Hare, and myself. Lord Normanby being very much engaged, I availed myself of the interval to pay a short visit to the Continent, and returned to London on May 26, where, in anxious expectation of a summons to discuss the Natal question, I was on the 7th of June surprised by the following letter from Mr. Stephen, with inclosures from Major Charter :—

“Downing Street, June 5, 1839.

“To Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom,

“SIR,—I am directed by the Marquis of Normandy to transmit to you herewith an extract and a copy of letters which have been addressed to his Lordship by Major Charters upon the subject of your returning to the Cape of Good Hope, and to convey to you his Lordship’s request that you will report to him whether you concur in the accuracy of that officer’s statement of the communications which passed between the Governor, Sir George Napier, and yourself, relating to your appli-

cation for leave of absence to come to Europe, and more especially of that part of the statement which relates to the clear understanding into which you are said to have entered with the Governor—that you would not resume the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts of the Colony.

“I am, &c.,
(Signed) “JAS. STEPHEN.”

The enclosures were the two following, viz.—

First. “Extract of a letter from Major Charters to Lord Normandy, dated London, 27th May, 1838.

“There is one other subject, my Lord, which I would consider it my duty, both to the public service and to the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, to bring to your notice—I mean Captain Stockenstrom’s return as Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province. Sir George Napier never contemplated this event, as will be seen both by his public and private correspondence with your Lordship’s predecessor in office; and as I held the confidential situation of his military secretary at the time, I am fully informed of all the circumstances which gave rise to the Lieutenant-Governor’s departure from the Eastern Province; and I do mean to say that his return will cause no less excitement and irritation in that Province, than surprise in the breast of His Excellency.

“It does not become me to name, although I can easily foresee, the probable consequences of this measure; and I earnestly, but most respectfully, suggest to your Lordship that Captain Stockenstrom’s departure for the Cape be delayed until advices arrive from Sir George Napier, after he shall have become acquainted with this measure. As I am totally unknown to your Lordship, it may be necessary to assure you that I do not belong to

any party opposed to Captain Stockenstrom's policy or government at the Cape. On the contrary, I have the highest opinion of his honour and talents, and fully appreciate what he has done in the cause of humanity and justice towards the coloured population of those regions ; wherever an opportunity occurred I have actively supported him, and I beg of your Lordship to attribute what I have now said on the subject to no other motive but a sincere desire to prevent anything occurring at the Cape which might be detrimental to the public service, and even hurtful to Captain Stockenstrom himself."

The *second* enclosure is as follows :—

" Bath, June 4, 1839.

" MY LORD,—I had the honour to receive this morning a letter from Mr. Stephen, conveying to me your Lordship's desire that I should furnish you with a circumstantial and detailed statement of all that I know, or believe to have occurred, in writing or orally, between the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom in regard to the return of the latter to resume his office in the Eastern Province of the Colony, and I lose no time in complying with your Lordship's request.

" As it appears that Lord Glenelg, to whom Sir George Napier's public despatches and private letters were addressed, does not understand his views in regard to the Lieutenant-Governor's return in the sense in which I have explained them, your Lordship will see that I place myself in the somewhat awkward and novel position of interpreter of the Governor's meaning.

" When I consult my own intentions, however, and reflect on Sir George's character, I know I have a

rock to lean upon, and have no objection to the responsibility.

“Immediately after the Court of Enquiry into the Lieutenant-Governor’s conduct, which was held at Graham’s Town, and of which I was a member, had finished its labours, Captain Stockenstrom applied to the Governor for leave to proceed to England, that he might have a conference with Lord Glenelg touching certain expressions in his Lordship’s letter, which conveyed the order for holding the Court.

“At this period the Governor had been six weeks in the Eastern Province, and was thoroughly aware of the state of feeling which pervaded the great majority of the population—a feeling decidedly and clamorously hostile to Captain Stockenstrom, and to such an extent did it exist that Captain Stockenstrom allowed that he would not carry on the duties of his office with any benefit to the public service. This expression I did not myself hear ; but the Governor told me he had said so to him.

“Whatever may have been the cause of this feeling it is not my province to enquire, but that Sir George Napier was fully persuaded of the honour, the ability, and public virtue of the Lieutenant-Governor, I can bear ample testimony.

“Under these circumstances the Governor granted the permission which Captain Stockenstrom requested, but with the clear and distinct understanding that he was not to resume his office ; being fully aware of the impossibility of his carrying on its duties with any benefit to the public, and likewise having satisfied himself that in order to render the office of Lieutenant-Governor fully efficient, it ought to include the command of the troops.

“With this view he called up Colonel Hare from Cape

Town, and appointed him Acting-Governor until Her Majesty's pleasure should be known. I believe Sir George Napier recommended in the strongest terms to Lord Glenelg, and I know he did so to the General Commanding-in-Chief, the confirmation of Colonel Hare in the permanent situation of Lieutenant-Governor.

"He also suggested the claims of Captain Stockenstrom to be employed by Her Majesty's Government in some situation not in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in consideration of his long and faithful services.

"In confirmation that an understanding did exist that Captain Stockenstrom was not to return, I may be allowed to quote a paragraph in Lord Glenelg's Despatch 28th October, 1838, which was published at the Cape when the opinions of the Court of Enquiry were made known.

" 'I abstain at present,' continued his Lordship, 'from the consideration of any final arrangement as to his (Captain S.'s) successor, in the hope that he may be induced to reconsider the determination, which he had privately announced to you, of not returning to the Cape.' In further confirmation of this understanding I may mention that when the Governor received the official application for leave to go to England from Captain Stockenstrom, he remarked an ambiguous expression as to the possibility of his resuming office, and he required a more decided one of his determination not to return.

"If Sir George Napier had only contemplated the temporary absence of Captain Stockenstrom, it is not likely that he would have called up Colonel Hare, and put that officer to the expense and inconvenience of establishing his family in Graham's Town for a few months, and give up his situation of Commandant of Cape Town. Having now complied with your Lordship's

desire to the best of my ability, I must repeat to your Lordship that I am actuated by no motives of ill-feeling towards Captain Stockenstrom, for whom I have the highest respect ; but I consider it a duty paramount to every other consideration that you should be informed of all circumstances within my power to detail, attendant on Captain Stockenstrom's return to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and I have also to request that he may be shown what I have written.

“ I have &c.,

(Signed) “ SAMUEL CHARTERS.”

(Major.)

The Lieutenant-Governor's reply to this Despatch covers thirty-six foolscap folios, containing a full detail of all that had ever passed between himself and Sir G. Napier and Lord Glenelg. He shows how the latter had completely removed all his uneasiness about the manner in which he had written to Sir G. Napier, when ordering the Court of Enquiry, which had been the main reason for his coming to England, that he had never come to any understanding with Sir G. Napier that he would not return, though he had told him, both orally and in writing, that if he could find bread for his family in the North he would never recross the line.

That Sir G. Napier had intended to bring up Colonel Hare to act for him before anything was said about his non-return, and adds :—

“ Major Charters states that the Governor was fully aware of the impossibility of my carrying on the ‘ duties of my office with any benefit to the public,’ and *therefore* gave me leave to come to England. This throws altogether new light on the subject. The Governor's ‘ surprise at my reappearance in the Colony ’ cannot match mine at the sight of this. His Excellency, on the 2nd July, 1838, gives quite different reasons (and the only

ones known to me) for giving the leave, without even hinting at those named by the Major, and so far from being aware of the impossibility of my doing my duty, he speaks of the manner in which I had done it in the most flattering terms. I can produce several other proofs of his conviction that I could, and did do, that duty. * * *

“He (Major Charters) observes that ‘Captain Stockenström allowed that he would not carry on the duties of his office with any benefit to the public service.’ He did not hear me say so; but the Governor told him I had said so. I told the Governor at least ten times, and I am surprised that Major Charters did not hear it, as I was open enough in my declaration, ‘neither you, nor I, nor the ablest man that was ever born, will be able to carry on the affairs of this country before there is a radical reform in the official mass.’

The whole Despatch was worthy of the writer, and concludes with his urgent desire to be detained no longer in London away from his family, and at a ruinous cost to himself, in spite of which earnest appeal he was detained another two months, for it was not until the 2nd of September that he received from Lord Normanby the following, dated—

“Downing Street, August 31, 1839.

“SIR,—I have had under my consideration your letters, which you have addressed to me under date of the 8th of June, 3rd of July, and 20th instant, on the subject of your return to the Cape of Good Hope, and I have now to acquaint you that, under all the circumstances of the case, I have felt it my duty to submit to the Queen that it is not expedient that you should resume the Government of the Eastern District of that Colony.

“It is right that I should at the same time state that

this decision proceeds from no distrust of your qualifications for the office which you have filled. Those qualifications have been fully and repeatedly acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government. Still less do I desire to be understood as entertaining any opinion or surmise unfavourable to your personal or official character, in favour of which the most conclusive attestations have been given by the successive Governors of the Colony, and by my predecessor, Lord Glenelg. You will retire from the public service in possession of the cordial approbation and esteem of the Government under which you have acted; but I conceive that retirement to have been rendered inevitable by the feelings of distrust and alienation towards you, which I learn from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope have unhappily taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists as to deprive your services in that quarter of the value which would otherwise belong to them, and as even to convert exertions in themselves the most meritorious into sources of discontent and disaffection to the Government.

"In making this communication to you I think it necessary to connect it with an assurance that I am disposed to entertain with the most favourable consideration any proposal which you may feel yourself prompted to make to me, having for its object either the undiminished confidence which Her Majesty's Government repose in you, or the providing for you any such indemnity as it may be in their power to offer for the pecuniary loss in which you may be involved by the termination of your connection with the Government of the Cape of Good Hope.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "NORMANBY."

Before proceeding to the further steps taken by the Secretary of State to atone for the injury thus admittedly done to the Lieutenant-Governor, the reader will be anxious to know whether Major Charters was correct in the representations which he had made, of "the distinct understanding between him and the Governor that he should not return." On the 26th October, 1839, Major Charters writes to Captain Stockenstrom as follows :—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter (16 August) from Sir George Napier, which contains the following paragraph: 'From all I have said you will, I am sure, perceive your own mistake as to my sentiments and opinions, and also readily admit that Captain Stockenstrom has not acted improperly as far as regards me personally by withdrawing his resignation and returning here; and I hope, if there is any impression among my family and friends that Captain S. has behaved ill or unhandsomely to me, that you will be so kind as to remove that impression as speedily as possible, by stating that you have it from myself that the Lieut.-Governor *satisfactorily* and *fully* explained to me the causes which led to his withdrawing his resignation *after* he had placed it in Lord Glenelg's hands, at his Lordship's and the Government's earnest request.' My misapprehension of the Governor's meaning and sentiments in this affair is the cause of deep regret to me, inasmuch as it induced me to act in a manner which must have hurt the feelings of an honourable gentleman; on the other hand, I rejoice to think that those sentiments of mutual regard and esteem, which I saw arise and ripen betwixt you, have never even suffered a check.

"To you, sir, I owe the most ample reparation. Misapprehension and mistaken zeal have been the cause of an error on my part, which I shall ever think of with

sorrow, and although your own generous feelings may induce you to forgive me, still I shall look upon it as one of the circumstances of my life which gives me most pain. I hope I need scarcely add, that I will lose no time in communicating to every member of the General's family the extract from his letter above quoted.

"I remain, dear sir,

"Ever most truly yours,

(Signed) "S. CHARTERS.

What followed may be stated in a few words. Before any thing had been settled by Lord Normanby, Lord John Russell succeeded to the seals of the Colonial Office, and he first offered to Captain Stockenstrom the Governorship of the Island of St. Vincent in the West Indies, with a Knighthood, both which were instantly and unhesitatingly declined, and he was then offered a Baronetcy and the small pension of £700 per ann., which he accepted, though not without strong remonstrances on the insufficiency of the pension. At the same time a long correspondence with the War Office took place for the restoration of his half-pay, which he had ceased to draw upon his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, but was peremptorily refused, as it was some years later when the application was renewed. Sir Andries always considered this a gross injustice, and makes constant allusion to it as such. Here it is necessary to revert to the autobiographical notes which had referred to the *official correspondence* for a correct narrative of these occurrences, and which has been submitted to the reader as briefly as the circumstances and importance of the crisis in the history we are narrating permit. The record proceeds:—

One morning I received a private note from Mr. Peter Smith, requesting me to come to his office. When I reached this place, Mr. Stephen informed me that he had one day incidentally mentioned to Lord Glenelg that I had some claim to military promotion when his

Lordship at once wrote a private note to Lord Hill, asking a step for me, to which an answer had been received, which he (Mr. Stephen) was authorized to read to me, but not to let me keep. This answer laconically stated that I was "not *eligible*." The conflict of opposite feelings, which at once almost choked me, can with difficulty be conceived. My gratitude to the benevolent stranger, who, before my taking office under him had most likely never heard my name, unmanned me. About Lord Hill I did not for an instant trouble myself; he could neither love nor hate me, for he could not know there was such a being in existence. He was consequently only the pen, the tool, in concocting the mendacious epistle; but that it should have been put in the power of "*my uncle with his black list*" to show his spite by refusing either a favour or a just demand, distilled my blood into bile, and I could not control myself from telling my informant that Lord Hill's note contained that which, from respect for Lord Glenelg himself and for the office, I would not call by its proper name. "My uncle" knew perfectly well that, ever since I had obtained my well-earned company, four out of every five captains that had been promoted had been less *eligible* "by services and every other requisite."

It may be possible that some old rusty rules may be raked up, which could be sophisticated into arguments for crushing the "proud talented Boer of Swedish extraction;" who, whilst he enthusiastically honoured the *truly noble*, refused to cringe before high pretensions founded only on ignorance, injustice, and insolence. Such rules there may have been, by which I could first be robbed of my half-pay, then declared ineligible for promotion, and the sale of my commission, and some other acts of oppression; but the short and simple

question is—should I have remained a Captain on half-pay from 1820 to 1863 if I had had an uncle in the Horse Guards, if I had been a Somerset, and not on “my uncle’s black list,” particularly with my services ; as I had always, and do now, defy my bitterest antagonists and calumniators to adduce *one single instance of wrongdoing, or even mistake, or failure*, throughout the whole of my public career. It is well known how one of the wisest Ministers that ever entered the Colonial Office was manœuvred out of it.

One morning Mr. Secretary Stephen sent for me and said, “This is the last day that Lord Glenelg will be here. I think you ought to see him and take leave of him.” He added, “After you have seen Lord Glenelg, I advise you to get back to your Government as soon as possible, for you may be *Haytesburied*.” This was prophetic indeed. I went into Lord Glenelg’s office, and if I had still a hundred years to live, I never could forget with the warmest gratitude to reflect upon the kind-hearted generous speech which his Lordship made, and concluded with these words, “I am now going to deliver the seals of my office to Her Majesty ; but I shall first go to the Council, and my last official act shall be to get your salary increased as the only means I have of compensating you for what you have suffered.” I need not add that the increase of salary went to my successor ; but those who know my sentiments on all that is base and false may imagine into what depth of contempt that benevolent consolatory speech sunk in my estimation the various plots, high and low, which had conspired against my *life, honour, and property*. I never saw his Lordship again.

With Lord Normanby I had but little intercourse. He presented me at the Levée, as returning to my

Government, and gave me one audience on the political state of the Cape. In the meantime the desperate conspirators in that quarter having, almost heartbroken, seen that perjury and subornation of perjury had only raised me higher than I stood before, tried to move heaven and earth to find something that could pull down "the Dutchman's overbearing pride," and in their dreams of revenge fancied that they had hit upon a matter that might serve as a forlorn hope to strike a mortal blow ; but, as is generally the case with dishonest contrivances, they rushed headlong upon one of the strongest of my outworks. Forgetting, in their blind fury, that I had the means of making my fortune twice over by grants of land through a very simple system of jobbing, if I had not shrunk with horror from every process of the kind, they charged me with foul play in the acquisition of the only grant which I had ever obtained, and which may almost have been said to have been forced upon me, at the time when lands were being given away with the most profuse liberality to any one with just or unjust claim.

When Lord Normanby referred to me this compound of malice and calumny, I happened to have at hand documents which at once exposed its character, as well as that of its *brewers*, and Lord Normanby gave them an answer which must have satisfied them that they had nothing left to resort to *but arsenic*. Next came Major Charters with the popularity question. Lord Normanby was new in the office. He had had quite enough to struggle against with Orange and Tory factions in Ireland, and could have no desire to run his head against the Horse-Guards. The opportunity was, therefore, too good to be lost for "*Haytesburying*" a poor Colonial Lieutenant-Governor, as the Under Secretary had foretold. But it is

necessary here to show that the intrigue had made some progress before Lord Normanby could be mixed up with it, and before an honest man like Charters could be entrapped.

Lieutenant Rattray, of the 72nd Regt., had come home in the same ship with myself with the view of obtaining promotion, and as he knew that I intended to insist on having an Aide-de-Camp attached to the Lieutenant-Governor if I should be obliged to continue in that office, he hoped to be put into that post; but having stated his views to a high authority who he knew was well able to support his wishes, he received for answer, "Do not trouble yourself on the latter point, for Captain Stockenstrom shall not go back as Lieutenant-Governor, as in that case we shall have to remove Colonel Somerset." There was no breach of confidence in so perfect a gentleman as Rattray repeating to me a piece of insolence, which was meant for my ear; and if my comments on the baseness of the movement, which I uttered with the same unreserve as to repetition, were not very polite, they at any rate indicated no sorrow at the prospect before me, for I had long since been heartily sick at the meanness and corruptions of public life.

However, this popularity question (as has been already shown) became matter of controversy between the Colonial Minister and myself, which will be worth reading to any one who takes an interest in my career, and which ended in my *dismissal for unpopularity*. But Lord Normanby had himself soon afterwards to quit his new office—I suppose *not* on account of his Irish unpopularity, and Major Charters having had time to communicate with Sir George Napier, sent me a frank apology for what he deemed his misunderstanding.

That apology has been already recorded.

I believe the Major was a dupe, but certainly no traitor. He was a gentleman and man of honour. I wish here pointedly to refer to that part of my private correspondence which evidences the deep obligation I am under to my excellent friends, Mr. Benjamin Wood, M.P. for Southwark, and Sir John Herschell, as well as to their ladies, for their sympathy and friendship towards me in this sudden dilemma.

Another serious loss occurred at this time. Captain Stockenstrom had laid by a considerable sum in the hands of his Agents, the Messrs. Borradailes, for the express purpose of having the means of returning with his family to Stockholm as soon as his tenure of office should cease. His private diary contains the following entry :—

Saturday, January 11th.—I proceeded to add to the funds which I had already placed in Messrs. Borradailes' hands, four months' pension just received. Fancy my consternation and sympathy when the two brothers, overwhelmed with their misfortune, exclaimed, "We can take no more ; we have stopped payment, and you are one of our creditors." Alas ! poor Ella, why did you marry a man over whom such a fatality hangs ? How are you to get here, or how am I to join you ? For months and months have I been living like a miser ; floundered through the London mud to save the sixpence for the omnibus, dined at the horrible Globe for one shilling, and worn a hat that would disgrace Jack Ketch, in order to accumulate that which might have afforded you and your darling girls some comfort, and here again "payment stopped." But, thank Heaven, I am used to reverses, so that when I reflected on the feelings of my friends, hitherto so opulent, and thought of their families,

I could hardly shake their hands, and say "God bless you."

As my means were exhausted, I could not bring my family to Europe, and had to go back to the Cape *dismissed Her Majesty's Service for unpopularity*. But before my departure Lord John Russell had succeeded Lord Normanby in the Colonial Office. My official correspondence is essential to the case (but need not here be introduced, as it would weary the reader to wade through the details which it embraces). A Government in the West Indies, which Mr. Stephen said was to be accompanied with the Order of Knighthood, if I wished it, was offered but declined for the reasons given. Lord John Russell was too just and upright a man to let the case rest there, after he had become particularly acquainted with it. He renewed his offer of a West Indian Government in a most complimentary private letter, and after I had respectfully stated my objections, he unsolicited laid the case before the Prime Minister, who at once authorised him to offer me a Baronetcy, which the Queen, with her never-failing sense of justice and benevolence, forthwith most graciously bestowed upon me.

The *Larkins* had been repaired, and being ready for sea, Sir Andries (as he now was) took his passage by her. He writes :—

As I was stepping into the coach at the Spread Eagle at ten at night, I received the *Gazette* containing my elevation, sent me express by Sir William Woods of the Heralds' Office, and as we sailed from Deal at peep of day next morning, nobody on board had an idea of the new title.

After a long and wearisome voyage of seventy-seven days the *Larkins* got in among the rocks at Green Point, saved (says Sir Andries) under providence by poor Captain Bance.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1840-1846.

1840-1846. Opinion of Sir George Napier—Lord Normanby—Patronage, favouritism, corruption—Announcement of the new Honour at Cape Town—Justice Menzies—His Frontier Policy—His Proclamation, annexing country beyond Orange River—Welcome of Sir A. Stockenström everywhere—Quiet life at Uitenhage and Maasström—Sir P. Maitland—Outbreak of war of 1846—Commandant-General—Narrative of campaign—Sir P. Maitland recalled—Lord Grey ignores services of Burghers—Reward of Commandant-General.

OF Sir George Napier it may be safely said that a more honourable and better-intentioned man never came to the Cape ; but being too honest to suspect dishonesty in others, plausibility found it easy to impose upon him. After several months of the most intimate, cordial, confidential co-operation, he and I parted with the warmest feelings of mutual regard and friendship, as can be shown by his letters, not only to myself, but by those which he gave me to his dearest friends and relatives in England ; and as he is in his grave, and suspicions have been more than once hinted of foul play towards me on his part, I repeat that he invariably and frankly told me that in his opinion the Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape ought to be an officer of superior military rank, in order that he might have the complete command and discipline of the army on the Frontier in his hands. That part of his proceedings which I did think I had a right to complain of, I will no further allude to, for

having declined to receive his explanations at the time, *ex parte* comment would be unfair. I have been confidentially informed that he sent those explanations to Downing Street, and received a satisfactory reply. If this be true, I can only observe that, never having received any copy of that correspondence, I rank it with all the other works of darkness of the same corner, still acquitting Sir George Napier of everything except having allowed himself to be grossly imposed upon. Nor do I wish to reflect injuriously on the then Colonial Secretary (Lord Normanby). On the contrary, I have no less an authority than that of the late Mr. Daniel O'Connell, who told me, as he told the world, that Lord Normanby was the best ruler Ireland ever had. Nor can he have had any motive for wishing to injure me personally. The gulf between us was too wide and too deep for any jealousy or collision. He was only the dupe of another as honourable and benevolent a man as himself, who was in his turn the dupe of his own credulity, which laid him open to "have the cackling of a flock of geese imposed upon him as the voice of the country." In fact, it is not the man in power generally that we have to complain of. There have been excellent men—men of the highest honour and capacity in the Colonial Office, as well as in the Horse Guards. Such men also we have had as Governors. It has been my misfortune to differ with some of them; but I hope that I have appreciated the virtues and honoured the memories of most of them, without being blind to their mistakes. Some lamentable exceptions there have been, no doubt. But I repeat it is not the men generally that we have to complain of, it is the *system*, the *office*, the *very atmosphere*, the *very bricks and mortar* in which patronage, favouritism, and intrigue, if not something worse, are

rooted. This has been so clearly demonstrated by the British oracle, the *Times* newspaper, and equally powerful productions during and since the Crimean War, that we are spared the trouble of detail; but we may incidentally observe that those writers might, in confirmation of their expositions, have referred to the several millions liberally paid by England at the Cape to back the systems which they so unflinchingly discussed. Aye, *millions* well soaked in black blood, and concentrated in the pockets of the objects of the Cathcart panegyrics, and *participated in*, as Pottinger calls it, *by men in high stations*. Your precious waggon contracts, for instance. Nor do I see how it is to be otherwise; and, in spite of a good deal of travelling, I cannot tell you in what part of the world it is better. I fear, indeed, that the Administrative reformers will find that the Millennium has not yet dawned, and that by sweeping patronage, favouritism, intrigue, and corruption out of one corner of the stables, they may deposit them in some nook still more infectious. At any rate, my position was as it is above detailed, and my dismissal therefore quite natural. Nor could I object to the exercise of a royal prerogative, before which so many of the greatest statesmen have succumbed, especially when it was so soon followed by the most unqualified demonstration of approbation and favour of a just and gracious sovereign. I was too happy to withdraw into a quiet retreat, followed by the respect, the confidence, and the friendship of all that I held dear in the community. Figure to yourself the bitterness of soul, the gnashing of teeth, of a slanderous faction triumphantly exulting in the imagined success of their machinations against the supposed victims, whom they flattered themselves they had for ever crushed to atoms, when, in the midst of their joyous shouts of "Hurrah!" they

found the object of their malice in a position to look down upon them in pity.

I have said that nobody on board the *Larkins* had an idea of the new title. I had a letter to Colonel Michell from our friend Benjamin Wood, who had been behind the scenes, of course. The Colonel, elated, told everybody. All rejoiced, but some doubting, asked my fellow-passengers, who unanimously answered, "I wish it were true; but I fear it is not." My *legal friend* was determined to make sure. He trotted down to the post office, and there seeing on the list the old "Captain Stockenstrom," trotted faster and more joyfully back to undeceive Colonel Michell's dupes. Next morning, however, the *Times*, brought by the brig (which had made a short passage), had got into circulation, and turned the *law*-full man into the *wrath*-full man, who, however, consoled himself with the prospect of a controversy, and pamphlet, which, alas! as Sir G. Napier said, the Attorney-General clinched. Nevertheless, Sir George was no match for the lawyer, who, being determined to throw everything into confusion wherein he could not domineer, particularly everything in which the "advocate and defender of Sir John Wylde" and the "legal adviser of Theron" was concerned, soon convinced His Excellency that as both the pseudo-philanthropists, Lord Glenelg and the Radical Baronet, had been manœuvred out of office, the time was come when His Excellency should begin to think of eating his words as to the perfection of their Frontier system, and substitute one of his own, of which he of the law drew up a prospectus, which His Excellency, then going to pay the frontier a visit, adopted, and submitted to Lieutenant-Governor Hare, Civil Commissioner West, Agent-General Hudson, and Diplomatic Agent Stretch, who unanimously

condemned the scheme as a pack of impracticable absurdities. The Governor, in this dilemma, still anxious to please all, made some amendments of his own, which satisfied nobody, not even the lawyer, and injured his reputation for statesmanship, as well as the cause of peace. However, for this piece of indecision the Judge, a couple of years later, superseded the Governor altogether. Being *on circuit to administer the law* at Colesberg, evidently dreaming that His Excellency was an old woman, he issued a proclamation incorporating with Her Majesty's dominions an immense tract of country beyond the Orange River ; but this was too much even for the high-minded and valiant, but too soft, mild, and forgiving Sir G. Napier, who good-naturedly did not suspend the insolent usurper, but repudiated and nullified the whole transaction, and of course infuriated to madness his would-be dictator.

How this self-same learned Judge fell foul upon Sir Andries the moment he landed need not here be repeated. The whole case was published by both parties in pamphlet form, where it will be found in the Public Library, Cape Town ; from which, however, one important document is omitted, being Mr. Porter's letter, published in the *Commercial Advertiser*, to which previous reference has been made.

At the Cape I was received with all the hospitality and affection to which I had been accustomed since my youth by all whose respect and good feeling could be of the least value. A public dinner was again offered in Cape Town, but thankfully declined. I travelled through the Districts of Stellenbosch, Worcester, Beaufort, and Graaff Reinet to my home in that of Somerset, and found everywhere the best sympathies and blessings without one solitary exception. I have no fear of being

suspected of wishing to allude slightly to those who conscientiously disapprove of my politics and public acts ; as I have repeatedly admitted, there are among the opponents, who dissent in strong language of censure, men for whom I entertain even more than respect ; as they can conscientiously and in the language of *gentlemen* defend their own sentiments, and liberally countenance and support the severest public censors in their championship of truth, justice, honour, and morality, whilst they feel equal horror with myself towards vulgar personal scurrility, conspiracy, perjury, and subornation of perjury.

Nothing of much importance in the career of the worthy Baronet occurred during the next few years, which were spent by him partly on his farms, partly in Uitenhage, and partly in Cape Town ; and he finally moved to Maasström with his family in the beginning of 1845, and commenced planting those beautiful avenues of oak-trees, which are now among the great attractions of the place, intending to make it his home, and to cast in his lot with the neighbouring farmers as one of themselves. The hearty welcome and unstinted hospitality shown to all travellers (and there were very many in those early days, when wayside hotels were few and far between) who sought for rest or a night's lodging soon made Maasström the favourite resort of all classes, old and young, rich and poor. In March, 1844, Sir George Napier was succeeded by Sir Peregrin Maitland, an officer of the highest military character, and every virtue that belongs to the pious Christian and gentleman of honour. Ten or twenty years earlier in his lifetime, in the full vigour of his intellectual powers, he would have made an excellent Governor for the Cape. How unequal he was for the difficulties that beset him was soon lamentably manifested.

There I was in that retreat—at least, if you can call that a retreat, in which you are constantly harassed by

some official reference, or an appeal against acts of oppression and injustice; but there I was in that retreat, happy at least in a contented domestic circle, when in 1846, in spite of a virtuous and brave Governor—in spite of an honest and brave Lieutenant-Governor—in spite of a noble and brave army—mismanagement, and something worse, threw the Frontier into panic and confusion, and overwhelmed the country with bloodshed and arson for hundreds of miles. There was the reality once more! No burning in effigy of obnoxious Governors and anti-extirpation missionaries. The borders were in a blaze from Winterberg to the sea. It is to be hoped that those who so honourably distinguished themselves round the mock fires were equally prominent in repelling the firebrands of an enemy in earnest, instead of sneaking into the safe jobs so faithfully depicted by their late popular Governor, and leaving the danger and labour to those fellow-citizens whom they delighted in slandering. However, such was the state of affairs that no true soldier can think of it without a blush! When the bravest and noblest troops in the world were, through their mismanagement, to use the softest term, driven before naked savages, like rats before a pack of terriers, from Burns Hill to Block Drift, leaving their ammunition waggons in the hands of the enemy to be recovered by a few poor Hottentots under Andries Botha, whom we afterwards rewarded by trying to hang him as a rebel, and confiscating his property like that of many of his countrymen, contrary to law and justice; when after this disgraceful defeat the country stood in a blaze from the Winterberg to the sea—when such was the panic throughout the Frontier that Graaff Reinet and Port Elizabeth were considered the nearest places of safety, many of the Boers came to Maasström, and openly

declared that they would not take the field to help the English unless I should take the command of the Burgher Forces. Some of the Field-Cornets said, "You have commanded us since your childhood, and we will fight and die under you ; but we will not be d——d and blasted by any Jack, who will drag us into the bush and leave us to get our throats cut." This is the sort of unpopularity by which I had been pursued through life, and for which I had not long since been dismissed Her Majesty's Service. I only gave for answer that if called upon by the Government I should take the command, but that otherwise I should serve as an individual Burgher under my Field-Cornet, or Civil Commissioner, which I did. To several Englishmen, who pointed out to me the duty and the propriety of my taking the command in such an awful crisis, I gave the same reply, upon which Mr. Temple Nourse, a brave and honest gentleman among the settlers, stole his way by night through hosts of the enemy to Fort Beaufort, to lay before Sir P. Maitland the wish of the public, and soon brought my appointment, when our terrific enemy had already been in some measure checked by five-and-twenty young Graaff-Reinettters, only one of whom had ever seen an assegai thrown in anger ; showing them that they were not afraid of them, and dashing at them into the heart of the Kaga Forest. A letter from Mr. T. H. Bowker to the Governor, forwarded through, and personally delivered by, Mr. Walter Currie, which letter the Governor told me annoyed him much, can be produced, I suppose, and would show the feelings of the public. In General Orders I appeared gazetted as "Commandant-General of the Burgher Forces, with the rank and allowances of a Colonel on the Staff." The allowances I declined, because all the other officers of the Burgher

Force would have been entitled to the same, and the Government would have been puzzled how to pay them. The Burghers came to the rescue as usual with the utmost zeal and loyalty, English as well as Dutch. The men of the Eastern Frontier and Graaff Reinets were soon joined by those of Beaufort West under Messrs. Du Toit and Molteno, and formed together as fine and brave a body of soldiers as this or any country has ever seen, and would in six weeks or less have finished the disgraceful war, if the rancorous jealousies of the few, who had brought shame upon themselves and their profession, and the grasping avarice of those who were filling their pockets by the calamity, had not conspired rather to let the savage gain the upper hand than to let the civilians settle the matter as they were doing. The results were the most scandalous that ever even Kaffir wars had produced. Besides men in high stations having some dozens of waggons engaged on Government account *without oxen to draw them*, other similar jobs were quite sufficient to make the peace extremely unpopular; and to prove the real character of our money administration, it is only necessary to add that the accounts of perhaps more than a million of expenditure have not up to this moment been audited. However, I had at once to handle the enemy rather roughly, which made me forthwith a popular hero, a regular Frontier Patriot.

The history of the Campaign is contained in a pamphlet written and published by Sir Andries early in 1848; it included a lengthened official correspondence, from which a few Despatches have been selected, and are introduced to make the narrative complete.

Mr. Nourse found me already busy scouring the country with a small party of Graaff-Reinets, as Mr.

Cole's deputy. With the extended powers thus received, I immediately laid my plans for securing the Zuurberg Range (one of the greatest Kaffir strongholds when once in their possession), to keep open the communication between the North and South of the Province, between Somerset and Uitenhage,—between Cradock and Graham's Town, &c.,—whilst I proceeded in person to bring down a body of Colesberg and Cradock Burghers to rescue the Konap Line and its rear. But in a few days I found a strong undercurrent already running counter. I was informed that I was to have nothing to do with the Districts of Uitenhage and Lower Albany, and that the Kat River Burghers were to be considered more in the light of military auxiliaries, and to remain attached to the First Division. When this was referred to by a person well acquainted with the springs which moved the machine, as the result of miserable jealousy in certain quarters which would be sure to frustrate all my exertions, I simply observed that "if they should leave me only ten men, I should do my duty with them." The consequence of this arrangement, however, proved extremely untoward; all combination of arrangement was at an end; the whole of the Fish River above Fort Brown, even De Bruin's Poort (a great thoroughfare into Graham's Town), and the entire chain of the Zuurberg, remained exposed; the enemy infested those parts in great force, all communication between the Northern and Southern Districts was cut off, so that even military intelligence was often suspended for weeks, and commercial intercourse rendered so desperately precarious that a muid of common salt might be seen selling in the Cradock District for from ten to fifteen pounds sterling.

Immediately after the "*chastisement*" of Burn's Hill

Sir P. Maitland assumed the chief military command in person ; but soon withdrew to the extreme right at the mouth of the Fish River, whilst all on the left and in the centre was suspense, disunion, cavil, and discontent.

About the middle of June our forces accidentally came upon a strong body of Kaffirs in the open country near the Gwanga, where they had not the remotest chance with us, and were of course annihilated. The Governor, with the view of following up this "*victory*," advanced upon the Tslambies and the Gonaquabes, ordered Colonel Hare to make a demonstration on the Gaikas, and directed me to support the latter officer. In less than six-and-thirty hours after the receipt of this requisition I was in Fort Beaufort with a strong force, in hopes that this movement might lead to something decisive ; but found that the demonstration was *finished* ! The Kaffirs laughed at us, and my detachments marched back to their respective camps, discontented, dispirited, but still in high discipline, and only clamorous to be led against the enemy. Of the services performed by the Burghers in detail I say nothing, in order to avoid prolixity, and because they do not affect the general object in view.

By the end of June I had completed my lines of defence, and had a most efficient body of troops ready for field operations ; but forage and grass failed, and it was evident that unless a decisive blow were forthwith struck, our horses and oxen would soon fail likewise, and the war become indefinitely protracted. This had a very serious but natural effect on the minds of my men ; but their loyalty and patriotism triumphed over their solicitude about their affairs at home, which every mail represented to them in glowing but true colours as suffering from their absence.

In the meantime the Commander-in-Chief remained

on the extreme right, and directed Colonel Hare and me to delay all forward movement until he should advance himself with the Second Division, of which he would give us due notice ; but this notice was not given, for we heard with astonishment of His Excellency being beyond the Buffalo and the Second Division crossing the Kei, whilst we were with the utmost anxiety expecting to hear of his advance.

At last, towards the end of July, the joyful tidings came that the Amatola was to be attacked. I had in anticipation brought up my left wing to Shiloh and my right to the high land overlooking the Chumie, having my centre at Eland's Post (the Kat River settlers having been transferred to my Division). Our horses were dreadfully reduced ; but every man was in high spirits at the prospect of a decisive struggle and a durable peace. The Gaika tribes and their adherents were concentrated in the Amatola with a sort of superstitious faith in the impregnability of these fastnesses. Since the celebrated "chastisement," we had been looking askance at those "fearful precipices and jungles," as an old woman passes a churchyard in a dark night for fear of seeing a ghost. It was considered madness to think of entering them with less than ten thousand men. The Kaffirs saw that we participated in their creed, and set us at defiance. But now these phantoms we hoped were to be dispelled, and the Kaffirs taught a lesson which would show them that we were still masters,—and send every Burgher back to his plough or his shop. The grand combined movement was at length in operation. The Governor, with the Second Division, was at Fort Beresford ; the Lieut.-Governor, with the First, a few miles east of Block Drift ; and the Commandant-General, with the Third, in Upper Tyumie. "*How could the enemy escape ?*"

In the *South African Advertiser* of the 28th November, 1846, was published Commandant Du Toit's account of this "combined movement." It is well worth reading, and quite sufficient ; but as I have been accused of "*acrimony and contentiousness*," I shall only show what I *might* have reported on that operation, in order to enable every candid reader to compare the whole transaction with what I did report, and to judge of the spirit by which I was actuated.

On the 27th July, I entered the forests of the upper sources of the Tyumie, where the enemy was reported to be in great force. The main body had, however, already concentrated in the Amatola, where the desperate stand was to be made. The remnants moved in the same direction as we advanced. Colonel Hare had agreed to send a strong detachment to co-operate on my right, and he kept his word ; but this reinforcement remained the whole day stationary on the ridge which separates the Tyumie from the Amatola Vallies, and never came near us.

On the 28th, I visited Colonel Hare in his camp, and agreed with him as to the plan of attack on the Amatola, which was to take place at daybreak on the 30th. His Division was to advance upon the kloofs and jungles on the lower part of the stream of that name, whilst mine should assail those on its sources,—and Captain Hogg, with a strong force, after thoroughly scouring the country above Fort Cox, was to form a junction with me in the valley of the same stream. We hoped thus, upon good grounds—calculating on the Second Division entering the upper Keiskamma from the side of Fort Beresford, through the Buffalo River forests—that between three such strong bodies, each composed of as brave and as high-spirited men as ever entered any field, the Kaffirs

would receive such a lesson as would soon bring peace, and ensure permanent tranquillity.

On the 29th, Captain Stretch came to my camp with an application from Colonel Hare for a reinforcement of 250 Kat River men from my Division, to assist him in the attack of the Amatola the next day. I demurred, of course, as the Colonel was already stronger than I was, and I expected to have at least as much to do as he. I, nevertheless, promised to detach Assistant-Commandant Botha with 200 men from my right to support his left, and to keep open the communication between us ; this I did.

My official Report shows how my Division rushed up on the Amatola next morning, and how the enemy gave way. Commandant Du Toit is more particular. To those statements I must refer the reader for the sake of brevity. The day advanced ; the upper forests had been completely scoured, but no Captain Hogg appeared. We had heard heavy and continued firing on our right, and believed him hotly engaged ; but the firing was Assistant-Commandant Botha's, as shall be shown hereafter.

Towards sunset it was observed that Colonel Hare was marching back to his camp on the Tyumie side of the mountain, and some hints were thrown out that we were too weak to remain in the Amatola by ourselves ; but my commandants were unanimous that retreat would undo all that had been done, that every political as well as military consideration demanded that we should keep possession of the bugbear stronghold, even if we had only been 500 strong, instead of being more than three times that number, and that our wisest course would be to encamp in an open space without any sort of defensive circumvallation, in order to provoke the

Kaffirs to attack us by night, or at least to show them that we were not afraid of such attack. This was done ; but as it was not unlikely that our antagonists would accept the challenge and come down upon us before morning, my aides-de-camp, Messrs. Henry Hutton and Walter Currie, mustered some volunteers and formed themselves into outlying pickets at the fords by which the enemy were likely to approach us ; but the Kaffirs were wiser ! They withdrew towards the Wolf and Eastern branches of the Keiskamma, where the Second Division from Fort Beresford *was not*, and in the direction of the lower kloofs whence the First Division *had withdrawn*.

Late in the evening, Assistant-Commandant Botha, whom I had sent towards Colonel Hare's left in the morning, returned to me, and complained that his party had been sent into a deep bush kloof with some of the Beaufort Levy and some Fingoes ; that he had been hotly engaged with a strong body of the enemy throughout the day, but had not received the least assistance from the Second Division ; whilst Captain Hogg, with his splendid body of Swellendam Hottentots, had remained inactive on the open ridge above. This complaint was warmly echoed by many of Botha's men, yet I took no notice of it ; but when next day we had to go over the country which Captain Hogg was to have scoured, we found in a conspicuous position two waggons which had been taken from our troops at Burn's Hill, of the existence of which no one of the First Division had the most distant idea.

Colonel Hare, in reporting the proceedings of the day, seems to have been of opinion that there were no more than a few hundreds of the enemy in the Amatola ; but it was perfectly well known at the time, and has been

fully confirmed by the Chiefs since their surrender, that the whole Gaika strength was there concentrated,—and it was *then, and not till then*, when the storming of the kloofs, forests, and fastnesses of this charmed stronghold by the Burghers, *without hesitation or check*—particularly *when the encamping of these Burghers in the midst of this stronghold for the night proved to the Kaffirs that the spell was broken*,—that the enemy saw and admitted in their councils on that same day, *that the game was up*, and that resistance was useless. Even Colonel Hare himself saw his mistake within eight-and-forty hours,—for in the night of the 3rd August, when I was preparing to advance upon the fastnesses of the upper Keiskamma, I received an express from His Honour, informing me that the enemy was in great force in his immediate front, and urging me to support him on his forward movement next morning. I knew that His Honour was strong enough for anything that could possibly come in his way—still, in scouring the Wolf River jungles and kloofs downwards, I inclined sufficiently to my right to be able to reinforce him if necessary ; but on coming to the ground where the masses of the enemy had been seen the day before, not a man was to be found, and His Honour was seen in the distance with his force marching southward towards the comparatively open country about the Tabindoda. I then, forthwith, turning to my left, resumed my course along the Keiskamma upwards ; but the enemy retired before us wherever we went. About sunset we encamped on the Gooboo, when we saw in the distance great numbers of Kaffirs with their flocks proceeding into the forests about the sources of the Buffalo. Feeling confident that these parties could not fail to be intercepted by the Second Division, which I believed to be in the possession of the passes of the Quilliquilli, I started about

1 o'clock, A.M., on the 5th, and marched through one of the coldest nights I ever experienced, to get to the upper source of the Keiskamma, near the head of the Kabousie, in time to co-operate in any conflict that might ensue ; but we heard nothing of the Second Division, and the Kaffirs slipped through our fingers. It appears that Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone only ascended the Buffalo mountains from the south side on the morning of the 5th, so that he would be too late for those Kaffirs who were flying before me ; and for the operations of the other part of the Second Division, the reader is referred to Commandant Du Toit's letter above mentioned. Of the First Division we saw nothing more.

Such was our grand combined movement on the Amatola, which has been, not inappropriately, called a grand quadrille, performed by the Kaffirs and ourselves on this vast theatre, in which all parties complaisantly twist and twirl through the figures so as to avoid jostling and upsetting each other. Had I called it so from the first, I might, with justice, have been called "contentious and acrimonious," but it would nevertheless have been the truth.

In this mood I encamped on the Kabousie. The correspondence shows how, where, and when, I found the Governor.

Nothing could be more cordial than the reception which I met with from His Excellency on this occasion. There was not a shade of difference between us, and His Excellency entirely agreed with me that if we were to withdraw to the rear in our actual circumstances we should be leaving the enemy triumphant, as they would with much justice believe that they had out-generalled and out-manceuvred us ; their consternation would soon be changed into exultation ; Kreli would be made to

understand that we had the worst of it and were retreating; he would easily be persuaded to join the hostile tribes with his whole force, being already too much inclined towards that line of policy; the wavering part of the Tambookies (adherents of Umtirara) would at once unite with those who had already openly taken the field against us under Mapassa, and we should have had to carry on the worst of all wars—a defensive one—on a most rugged extensive frontier, with ruined cavalry, crippled infantry, and a disgusted border force, justly impatient of a most unprosperous, ungrateful service; whereas the enemy, more numerous than ever, reinforced at all points, would be, as it were, in their own element, living at our expense, at our very doors, keeping *the Colony* in constant alarm, fire, and bloodshed, whilst their country and families would be in peace, freed from our presence—thus leaving them at full liberty to direct all their united powers against us. Nor was the moral influence which such a retrograde movement would have upon the Colony generally, and upon our coloured auxiliaries in particular, as well as our native allies in other quarters, to be lost sight of. In short, retreat in our actual position appeared to me madness; but on the other hand, any one with the least idea of what war means, could foresee that if we were to allow any considerable part of our crippled army to be decoyed far beyond the Kei, to or over the Bashee, after a few diseased, starving cattle (for the good ones we were quite unable to overtake), we should, besides the folly of a losing game in a financial point of view, enable Kreli, whilst amusing us towards the East, to march round our flanks, join the Western Kaffirs and Tambookies, and fall on our frontier, with all the advantages *on their side* which have just been detailed, with the additional dis-

advantage *to us* of having a considerable part of our force out of reach.

In this dilemma our best, nay, our only policy evidently was, to make the most of the present panic of the enemy,—to rush into Kreli's territory with the greatest possible rapidity,—to show that even in the actual state of the country and of our forces we could march into any part of Kaffirland, and against any force which all the Chiefs united could bring against us,—to beat Kreli if he should face us, and at any rate to make him submit to any terms which the Governor should see fit to dictate,—above all, separating him from the Western Kaffirs; and then (instead of abandoning the frontier to its fate, and going skin-and-bone hunting to the Bashee), to wheel to the left with equal expedition, fall upon Mapassa's rear, and chastise him as severely as possible, whilst we should at the same time be re-approaching our depôts and lines of defence, before there could be time for any combined movement against these on the part of the open enemies and wavering neutrals.

Having thus the Governor completely coinciding with me, I soon heard with pleasure that Colonel Somerset had also, half an hour before my arrival, stated to the Burgher Commandants of the Second Division *that a forward movement upon the Galekas must be made*. My answer was, "Then he knows what he is about." The reader may then imagine my surprise when, a few minutes later, the Governor having communicated *my* views to Colonel Somerset, I heard this officer denounce a forward movement as most impolitic, and in fact impossible. He spoke of the discontented and inefficient state of the Burgher Force, particularly the men from George, who were "so disorganized that it was absolutely

necessary to send them away at once." He dwelt with great force on the want of provisions, the crippled state of the whole armament, and the consequent unavoidable alternative of retiring upon the supplies at the mouth of the Fish River and renewing operations in October, by which time men, horses, and oxen would be completely recruited. I then pointed out to the Governor the impossibility of keeping the Burghers from their homes inactive till October, on which Colonel Somerset observed that he could dispense with the Burghers altogether,—that in fact they were doing nothing but grumbling, and had become quite useless, and that by October he would be able to organise 1500 Hottentots, with whom he would do all that was to be done. Upon this additional proof of the *co-operation* by which the service was forwarded, I briefly repeated the opinion which I had given the Governor before, and withdrew, thoroughly disgusted, I admit, and only restrained by my respect for the Governor from exhibiting that feeling in no ambiguous terms. To hear such stuff about doing everything with 1500 Hottentots, after the "chastisement" of Burn's Hill, was truly sickening. Commandants Du Toit and Molteno (of Beaufort), who had with my aide-de-camp accompanied me to Fort Beresford, had also heard of Colonel Somerset's determination to move across the Kei, and in allusion thereto I said to them, "That must have been a mistake, as I had just heard the Colonel argue most strongly against such a move." Commandant Du Toit (of Worcester), then attached to the Second Division, being present, at once replied, "This very morning, not an hour ago, he (Colonel Somerset) told me that he was determined to go." I then ordered my horses, and prepared to proceed to the camp of my waggon train, a few miles west of Pirie; but

the Governor renewed the discussion with me, and after giving him my views frankly on the several points which he started, I left him wavering between Colonel Somerset's plan and mine. In the evening a report reached me that the former had prevailed, and that all was packing up for the Fish River mouth ; but next morning (the 8th) I received a summons to return to Fort Beresford, and went thither immediately. I found His Excellency full of doubt. Colonel Somerset had started for the mouth of the Fish River, and the George Burghers had been sent to the rear. I stated that I was ready to go with my own Division without any reinforcement, if I could only get 200 men from Fort Cox to escort my supplies from Black Drift in order to *save time*, by avoiding the necessity of sending my own men so far back for them. His Excellency objected to my going without some reinforcement, but added that he believed that the Burghers still left in the Second Division would consent to wait a little longer for such a purpose. He ordered them to be assembled forthwith, when, besides His Excellency and myself, there soon met Commandants Linde, of Swellendam, Du Toit and Jordaan, of Worcester, Eksteen, of the Cape District, and Du Toit and Molteno, of Beaufort. The Commandants declared themselves quite willing to go forward provided they could be certain of being dismissed immediately on their return. His Excellency stated his conviction that it would be hard to detain them longer, and readily assented to the condition, when it was argued that the indefinite period which the expedition might last was still an objection. I then pledged myself that it should terminate *as soon as possible, and certainly not be protracted beyond the first week in September*. Commandant Linde at the same time requested that the Hottentots of

his Commando, who were attached to Colonel Hare's Division, might be allowed to return to and accompany him. His Excellency replied that they could not be spared, but consented that 200 of them should be ordered to bring up my supplies and join the expedition. I here wish it to be particularly noticed how these 200 men came to be thus ordered. I had not then the most distant idea that there was any soreness felt about the Swellendam Hottentots having been withdrawn from under their Commandant Linde and formed into a levy for Captain Hogg, of the 7th Dragoon Guards, of whom I knew nothing more than of any other man whom I had for the first time seen or heard of on this expedition. Thus stood matters in the forenoon of the 8th, I having agreed to provision the whole expedition and to provide the Burghers of the Second Division, who should accompany me, with oxen, leaving a proportion of my waggons with a sufficient guard under the protection of one of the stationary camps.

In the course of the day, however, information was received that Sandilli and Macomo were still in force in the Buffalo mountains. New difficulties started up, and we retired at night with the impression that the forward movement was not to take place. Next morning His Excellency called me early, and stated that he had given the subject the fullest consideration during the night, and was deeply impressed with the great moral effect which a movement against Kreli would produce, and that he had decided that it should be undertaken. I at once started and brought up my waggon train to Fort Beresford that same evening, having despatched Field-Cornet Devenish with the order for the 200 men of the First Division to bring up my supplies from Block Drift. But two whole days were thus lost ! and before

we left the Governor's camp an unfortunate verbal collision took place between the Governor's son (his Military Secretary) and one of my officers, Mr. Devenish, which would not call for any particular notice here if it had not been the cause of serious consequences, and confirmed the suspicions of the existence of much bitterness of feeling in certain high military quarters against the Burgher Force—but particularly against my Division. Captain Maitland, addressing some of his brother officers, said, "I hope the Burghers may get a d——d good licking,"—when Mr. Devenish, having been mistaken for a Dutch Boer who did not understand the language, standing near, sharply replied, "Depend upon it the Burghers will not be licked as the military were at Burn's Hill." I came up immediately after, saw great excitement, heard from Commandant Du Toit what had happened, foresaw the bad effects—a most tender chord had been struck—but the evil was beyond my control. The Governor had, in the meantime, resolved to associate with me in the expedition Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone, with a detachment of the 27th Regiment under his orders. My sentiments on this arrangement are candidly given in my letter of the 14th November to the Governor, which was as follows:—

"Maasström, November 14, 1846.

"SIR,—When on the 12th instant I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 6th, I was anxious, actuated by the high sense which I entertain for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's character and office, and the considerations so justly due to Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone, to take upon myself the entire responsibility for any mistake which might have taken place in the execution of the commission with which

His Excellency had charged the latter officer and myself in August last, notwithstanding my firm conviction that, to the best of our abilities, that commission had been carried out in strict accordance with the views and wishes which we believed had been expressed to us by His Excellency; and having now access to the notes and memoranda of my proceedings during my present temporary tenure of office, I am enabled to submit in detail the grounds for the said conviction and belief by the following statement of facts, for the authority of which I shall, fortunately, not have to rely on my own or any other individual memory, but which can be attested by a host of the most respectable witnesses who shall all be referred to by name.

“On the 5th August, I encamped on the upper branch of the Kaboosie, after having thoroughly scoured the higher kloofs, forests, and fastnesses of the Keiskamma and Buffalo. The First and Second Divisions were to do the same on a parallel line farther south. We had seen numbers of the enemy; but, with trifling exceptions, we had failed to bring them to a stand anywhere, and it could not be denied that our grand combined movement had proved on the whole a complete failure, through our delays, which, with the exhausted state of the pasturage and the impossibility of obtaining forage had rendered our horses almost useless. From the numerous spoor of men and cattle leading eastward—from the flight of those whom we saw in the distance—and from the precipitation with which the kraals had recently been abandoned, it was easy to perceive—and the women who were wandering over the country informed us—that the Kaffirs were in a state of great panic, and had lost all hope of retaining possession of Kaffirland since they had been attacked and beaten in

their mountain fastnesses. In short, the tables were turned, and the Kaffirs, as they sent to tell the Tambookies, saw 'that Kaffirland was lost, and that the Amakosa had no longer a place of rest.' Still it was clear they were not *subdued*. They saw that we were more than a match for them in the bush and krantz, as well as in the plain ; but they also knew that our force would not long be kept together ; that by burning the grass they had helped to disable our cavalry, and by taking refuge among the Galekas beyond the great Kei for a period, they could easily escape our present grasp, and return at a time more convenient for retaliation, when their worst enemies should have returned to their homes. It consequently appeared to me a matter of great importance that Kreli's interest should be separated from that of the Gaikas, the Slambies, and the Gonaquabes, whilst our conflict with these latter tribes lasted ; and that with that view terror should be struck into the said paramount Chief of Kaffraria, by showing him that neither the burning of the grass, the destruction of horses, the fatigues of distance, nor the fear of numbers of the enemy, can stop the progress of a British Force ; and by accordingly marching a Commando into his territory under every disadvantage, and laying down the law to *himself in person at his very door*. From him (Kreli) we had a right to demand satisfaction, as no doubt could remain of his having at some period been implicated in the present war against the Colony.

"For brevity's sake I leave out a great deal of matter connected with the subject before me, in order to adhere as closely as possible to the question of *deviation or non-deviation by Lieut.-Colonel Fohnstone and myself from the explicitly understood views and wishes of the Governor*, and I therefore come at once to the 7th August, when I

went in search of the Governor, and found him at Fort Beresford. I gave in a report of my proceedings, and His Excellency condescended to ask my opinion as to the actual state of affairs, and the best mode of proceeding for the future.

"I at once submitted to him my views as above detailed, and particularly dwelt on the moral effect of striking terror into Kreli and his council, and the policy of holding him responsible as the paramount Chief of Kaffirland, and no longer acknowledging any of the Chiefs west of the Kei. I stated to him, as I had repeatedly done before, my plan as to the appropriation of the land to be incorporated with the Colony. I deprecated any system calculated to enforce Kaffir law by means of a British magistracy and British bayonets, and denounced above all every idea of extermination. His Excellency readily agreed as to the expediency of a forward movement, but many doubts and hindrances interfered (the details of which I cannot enter upon for the present), until at last His Excellency decided that the move should take place, and that (besides a re-inforcement of Cape District, Worcester, and Swellendam Burghers) Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone, with a detachment of the 27th Regiment, should accompany me.

"I was well aware that this arrangement would be the cause of considerable additional delay, which in our predicament was absolute ruin; but from the exalted character of this officer, from the high place which he holds in the Governor's confidence, from the great experience which he possesses in the affairs of the Frontier, and from the ample communication which was made to him in my presence by His Excellency of the objects of the expedition, I considered almost any drawback compensated for by the assistance and advice which I

should receive from such a coadjutor, more particularly as he calculated that he could join me on the Kaboosie on the 14th or 15th.

"On the morning of the 10th the Governor, Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone, and I, met in His Excellency's tent, when the whole matter was most deliberately and fully discussed, and, as I conceived, His Excellency's views and wishes so clearly understood by the Colonel and myself, that any mistake or misunderstanding appeared to me quite impossible. I next, at His Excellency's desire, drew up a memorandum of my views as to the course expedient to be pursued over the Kei, as well as to the steps to be adopted during the absence of the expedition, to secure a defensive force for the Frontier by the time the Boers should be disbanded. This memorandum was placed in His Excellency's hands. He promised to consider it fully, and to send me instructions by Colonel Johnstone; and I distinctly stated that if His Excellency should see cause to adopt different measures, or to relinquish the expedition altogether, I had no desire but to serve in a manner most consistent with the public good. Much discussion between His Excellency, Colonel Johnstone, and myself took place on other subjects, particularly on a message just received from Macomo, but not directly applicable to the matter now in hand.

"I returned to my camp on the Kaboosie on the 11th, and on the 14th Kreli's messenger of peace came to me, as detailed in my Report of that day.

"On Sunday morning the 16th, Colonel Johnstone had not joined me. The men became very impatient, their horses falling off by the hour. I rode back with a small party in search of him. We found him halting for the day at a place called the Yellow Wood Trees, and

having asked him whether the Governor had given him any instructions or letter for me, he replied in the negative. *It was thus self-evident that the real discussion which took place in the Governor's camp on the 10th was to be the only rule for our operations*, whilst the Colonel expressed his belief that His Excellency would be delighted to hear about Kreli's peace messenger, and regretted, as I did, that we had no opportunity of forwarding to him my Report on the subject.

"At last, on the 18th, seeing Colonel Johnstone's Division appearing in the distance, I left what may well be called the valley of death to our horses, and moved forward slowly, almost every man having to walk, and on the morning of the 20th the Colonel overtook us on the Quanty.

"My communication to the Dep. Qr.-Master-General of the 24th August contains the particulars of my proceedings beyond the Kei, and not only did Lieut.-Col. Johnstone (*who was specially entrusted by the Governor to co-operate with me in the matter, as one of his most confidential subordinates, in complete possession of his views*) give me his assistance at the conference with Kreli and his Councillors, but he spoke in the highest and most flattering terms of my efforts, conduct, and success, and stated his belief that the Governor would be very thankful to me for a most important service rendered to himself as well as the public ;—and when in the evening of the next day I sent my aide-de-camp (Mr. Hutton) to inform the Colonel that I intended next morning to attack the Bulota and Ameva country, where Mapassa was said to have secreted vast flocks of Colonial and other cattle, he (the Colonel) again expressed *his admiration of my proceedings and success*, and stated that he would be most happy to take part in the proposed movement against Mapassa ;—also,

when on the 24th, *after three days' deliberation and reflection*, I sent my said aide-de-camp to him with the document containing the result of the conference, begging of him, if he felt any objection to subscribe the same, to strike his name out of the preamble, Mr. Hutton brought back the paper to me with *the signature attached*, saying, that Colonel Johnstone, *so far from wishing to withhold it, expressed himself proud in being a party to such a transaction*. But this is not all! Besides Colonel Johnstone there were present at the conference five men as *honorable, as well informed on the political state of Kaffirland and the Colony, and the predicament in which the Governor was placed, as any five men he could have picked out of his whole army—all having deep interests at stake, all anxiously watching every step I should take, every word I should utter*. Them also I asked for their opinions and suggestions in this delicate task. These men *signed as Colonel Johnstone did, thought as he did, spoke as he did*, and most likely expected that the Governor would do so likewise. These five men were Commandants Joubert, Du Toit, Groepe, Pringle, and Molteno,—besides whom there attended officially my aide-de-camp, Mr. Henry Hutton, and my interpreter, Mr. Charles Brownlee, and unofficially, Captain Vereker, of Her Majesty's 27th Regt., Field-Captain Read, and Mr. Richard Paver, all men whose testimony will be considered unexceptionable anywhere; nor do I believe that among a body of men about 2500 strong, present on the spot, there was one per cent. who had any opinion at all, who did not think that what *could* and *ought* to have been done, *had been done*. In short, we did *exactly that* which we conscientiously believed *we were sent to do*. We struck terror into the Chief and his people! We showed him that we could at any time and under every disadvantage come to

his door and lay down the law to him, or destroy the country! We made him, in spite of his terrors, appear before us, and submit to our terms! We separated him from our more immediate enemies, whom we thus isolated! We made him promise to restore property, which we cannot *now* possibly get at! We made him cede territory which he and his council alone can cede, and which we may avail ourselves of or not, as we see fit! And we did all this without binding ourselves to one single act, obligation, or concession, or in the least fettering ourselves, in, *when we are able*, doing that to compel him (if he should prove faithless) to comply with his engagements, *which we are now not able to do!* And that I did not lose sight of this is proved by my organizing a fresh force, as appears by my Report of the 3rd September.

“I have, moreover, the satisfaction to know that the advantage resulting from the movement of the Burgher Force ever since it had entered the enemy’s country, was very soon apparent. The Moravian Missionaries at Shiloh, and the Diplomatic Agent Fynn, are aware that within three days after the Amatola was attacked, Gaika messengers reached the Tambookie country advising peace, ‘*because all was lost in Kaffirland;*’—and it is become a saying among the Kaffirs, as well as Tambookies, that since ‘the Amatola is broken to pieces, and Kreli’s door is closed, Sandilli, Macomo, Pato, Umbala, and Mapassa, are Fingoes!’

“I beg to be understood that I do not presume by the above statement to question His Excellency’s right to vary his policy and to send to Kreli, or any other Chief, any message which he may judge proper; but having been left for more than ten weeks without any acknowledgment of the receipt of my report, on a most important

mission, conducted with the utmost zeal and solicitude, and being finally only incidentally informed that consequent upon that report a diplomatic measure had '*some time since*' been adopted,—which might materially have affected my operations, whilst I was altogether in ignorance thereof,—I take the liberty to suggest that I am entitled to assume that His Excellency is labouring under some impression which he is too just to harbour if he is made aware that it can be removed ; and I therefore owe it to myself once for all to declare that I am prepared to submit every act of mine, during the period that I have held my present command, to the minutest scrutiny, and to prove that I have done my duty to my Sovereign, to Her Representative, and to my country.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

“ A. STOCKENSTROM.

“ Lt.-Col. Cloete, Dep. Qr.-Mr.-General.”

Reverting, however, to the scene between Mr. Devenish and the Governor's son, the narrative continues :—

In the morning of the 10th I found great excitement prevailing in my camp. It was reported that a most bitter feeling had been exhibited against the Burghers on the part of the Military, and that even the Governor had shown the greatest displeasure at the alacrity with which the Burghers of the Second Division had consented to join mine in the expedition beyond the Kei, His Excellency having said, that “first they would hear of nothing but going home, and now they are *all* for going forward ; but if I must move in their absence I shall have to burn their waggons.” It was well known that it

was part of the plan that His Excellency's camp should *not* move before the return of the expedition. His remark was, therefore, considered uncalled for, harsh, and the direct opposite of what the zeal of the Burghers deserved ; but I appeal to those gentlemen who surrounded me whether I made any other observation than this : " We can draw up a separate camp for the waggons which we must leave behind, and place a force with it that will defy all Kaffirland, whether His Excellency move or not." This I did. I confess that I considered the Governor's conduct very paltry, and became not a little discouraged by seeing that the military anti-Burgher feeling, which had already done so much mischief, had crept up to such high quarters ; but I deemed it my duty to the cause in which we were engaged not to show those feelings to my comrades in arms. However, this interlude dwindles into utter insignificance before the exhibition of a personage just one grade lower on this glorious stage. Colonel Somerset, who a few moments before my arrival in the Governor's camp, had declared his determination to go across the Kei himself,—as soon as he found that I was to be sent, saw nothing derogatory to his duty, rank, and character, in his using every effort to dissuade the Burghers of the Second Division (the very men who would have had to accompany *him*) from going with *me*, and even went so far as to hand to Commandant Ecksteen, of the Cape District, a list of Kaffir hosts amounting to 45,800 fighting men, who would meet the expedition on the Kei and cut us all to pieces ! I admit that on being told of this, indignation got the better of my reserve, and I said, " If he believe his own statement, it is the very reason which should make him go to the Kei, instead of running away to the Fish River mouth ! We

profess at least to wish to bring the Kaffirs to a regular battle,—this shows our sincerity as well as the cause of our failure. *This war will last for ever !*” Then came another act of “*co-operation.*” The Commandant Du Toit, of Worcester, complained that Colonel Somerset, on his way to the rear, had taken with him from the camp near Pirie, 200 of his (Du Toit’s) men—Worcester Hottentots—who were to form part of the Kei expedition. The Governor on hearing this, replied, much annoyed, “This must be a mistake,—Colonel Somerset would not venture to do such a thing, as it would be contrary to my positive injunctions.” His Excellency started immediately to enquire and found it “*no mistake,*” but was told that the 200 men were taken merely to escort to Fort Beresford the convoy with supplies which Colonel Somerset would meet, and which were expected to arrive in two days, consequently quite in time for the said 200 men to accompany their Commandant across the Kei. *These men were taken past the convoys to the rear, and did not return at all !! Discipline ! Harmony ! Co-operation !*

But to come back to Monday, the 10th. In the midst of the excitement about the threat of the Governor to burn the waggons, I was informed that Captain Hogg had come post-haste from Colonel Hare’s headquarters at Fort Cox, to protest against his being made to send 200 of Commandant Linde’s Swellendam Hottentots to escort my supplies from Block Drift to the Kaboosie, in order to save *time*, which then was valuable beyond calculation, and that the said Captain Hogg was most furious with *me* for my attempt to break up *his* division ! I have already stated how these 200 men came upon the tapis, without anybody, as far as I know, dreaming of the gallant Captain ; but I should apologise for wasting

time upon such matter if it were not in so far an important feature in the drama that the result was, *the Captain did protest and did not give the men ! Discipline and Co-operation indeed !* Yet I defy any living soul to produce proof of one single word, deed, or look, that could have given the least offence to the most fastidious, unless commiseration were too conspicuous ; and I can appeal to Mr. Commandant Du Toit, of Beaufort, to state whether he saw or heard anything else, even when he repeated some low stupidity, which seemed expressly to have been uttered in his hearing by men with gentlemen's coat on their backs, with reference to me and my Burghers.

In the forenoon I had an interview with the Governor, when he himself informed me that the 200 Swellendam Hottentots could not be got, and that he would manage to have my supplies escorted by some other means. He also informed me that he had thought proper not to place the Burghers of the Second Division, who were to accompany me, under my command, but under that of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone — together with the military. *I understood all this ;* but could not upon tenable grounds start any objection. I can declare with my dying lips, that *my* object was co-operation towards finishing the war and restoring peace, and not to add to my troubles by extending my command.

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone was then called in, when the discussion followed between him, the Governor, and myself, which is so fully detailed in our correspondence that a repetition here would only be tiresome. In the afternoon I marched, and reached my camp on the Kaboosie the next day. I found my men very much downcast about the state to which their horses had been reduced during the last few days of delay ; but upon

being informed of the Governor's promise to dismiss them on their return from beyond the Kei, they declared themselves ready to go forward on foot,—though great excitement was caused by the feeling which had been exhibited with reference to the Burghers in the Governor's camp—and many declared that only for my sake would they go an inch farther. They certainly had deserved a very different return.

My letter to Sir P. Maitland, dated November 14, has stated how on the 16th August, I had to go back in search of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone and his force, after having waited for them on the Kaboosi five days; my cattle perishing, my men very impatient and much excited; how I found him halting for the Sunday, and what passed between him and me. There it was on this occasion that I was informed of the extent to which the spirit of bitterness had been carried against me and my Division by certain parties in the Governor's confidence. I appeal to Commandant Molteno and Field-Cornet Devenish, who were present and perfectly conversant with what was then and there stated by the most respectable authorities, as to the correctness of the following particulars. I was assured that an officer, who, it seems, had taken it into his head to honour me with his peculiar hatred from some Christian motive best known to himself, but utterly inexplicable to me, was to be the distinguished champion of the Anti-Burgher faction, and had declared his determination to thwart me by every possible means in his power; that with this reputable design he had planned an expedition to consist of 1000 men of the First Division, to be led by him into Tambookieland, and there prematurely to attack Mapassa, so as to frustrate the movements which I had in contemplation for the effectual punishment

of that Chief: in fact, to “pluck a feather out of ——’s cap;” and that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone with his soldiers were expressly tacked to me as a drag to delay me, in order to afford the said expedition, which was to be kept secret from me, ample time to get the start of me. This was not only said, but believed by all who heard it, *except myself*; and I call upon the above two officers of my Division to say frankly whether even then I did allow myself one offensive act or word, and whether the following was not my only reply: “I cannot believe it! it is impossible! because, 1st, the Governor is too far above such miserable intrigue; 2nd, it is agreed that the First and Second Divisions shall watch the Amatola fastnesses and guard the Kat and Fish River Frontier, whilst we go over the Kei; 3rd, it is believed that Sandilli and Macomo are still in force in these mountains; and depend upon it *our friends* are too wise to risk their own safety by weakening themselves to the amount of 1000 men, merely for the gratification of such petty malice; for, 4th, they cannot be so blinded by jealousy as not to see that by sending such a force to an open country where they are not wanted (as there will soon be an overwhelming force of our own in that quarter), they must expose the Colony from the Winterberg the whole length of the Kat River, and the country in its rear, *of which the Kaffirs will undoubtedly take advantage*; the consequences will be awful, and the responsibility tremendous! But even admitting that these men can be weak-headed and bad-hearted enough for such paltry trickery, I personally cannot complain, for surely Tambookieland is wide enough for half-a-dozen such heroes as we are to gain our laurels in and fill up newspapers. If they can beat Mapassa and save me the trouble, so much the better.

I certainly see no military glory in this species of warfare! *Only let them take care not to interfere with my Division.*"

I shall not here enter into particulars as to the feeling created among the Burghers by the above demonstrations, and leave to the officers who were then under my orders to say by what influence my force was kept together after it became known that those immediately about the Governor and in his confidence wished us to get "a d——d good licking." Of our movement across the Kei also nothing more need be said here, as the particulars fully appear in the correspondence. It is only necessary to observe that previous to advancing on the Amatola to co-operate in the "combined movement," I placed guards at Shiloh and along the Cradock frontier, as I had done on the Kat River, Koonap, and Kroome, with strict orders to act only on the defensive as long as the main body of my Division should be operating in the territories of the enemy. Any man with the least claim to the title of "soldier," or the remotest knowledge of the country and the contending parties, could not possibly avoid seeing that the above posts, as long as they should so act on the defensive, would be strong enough to set all Tambookieland at defiance, with the *then* impressions of the Tambookies as to our superiority over them, particularly in that open country; and that on the other hand there could not be a more silly, ruinous, impolitic, unmilitary line of conduct than to thrust these posts into offensive operations by small detachments against a numerous mass, exposing them to defeat and disgrace in succession, laying open the frontier, abandoning the moral check which we exercised over the barbarians through their dread of our superiority, and *transferring the panic to our own camp*. Accordingly effects followed

causes as certain as the night the day. The Tambookies, with their Kaffir allies, seeing that we knew what we were about, kept aloof, and my whole line of defence remained perfectly undisturbed until Captain Hogg arrived at Shiloh, and did exactly that which it was stated in Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone's camp on the 16th was intended to be done, *and which I then set down as incredible*. I reached Shiloh on the 24th August, and found the Moravian Missionaries and the people of the Institution in the utmost consternation. Captain Hogg's Commando was there encamped. He himself had gone to the Governor's camp. With him personally I have nothing to do. His interference with my command and its disastrous results are the questions with me. He had ordered the Burghers which I had placed in defence of the Cradock frontier to proceed to the Windvogelberg to attack the Tambookies. He sent away from Shiloh on the same errand, in another direction, the Burghers which I had ordered to remain in protection of that important position, it being at the same time one of my principal dépôts. A third detachment of my defensive force, consisting of a great proportion of the Shiloh residents, was dispatched by a different route to co-operate with the former. This was "thwarting me by every possible means" with a vengeance, and, I admit, *with the most entire success*, if such were indeed, as was reported, the laudable object! It must be remembered that these three detachments belonged exclusively to the Burgher Force, and to that part of it which had been specially placed under my command, and had received my positive orders to remain on the defensive, and that one of my Commandants would have been as fully justified in tossing about the First and Second Divisions, without reference to their Commanders, as this said

Captain Hogg had to do so to mine ! It was attempted to be pleaded that the killing of a man of the name of Aldum by some Tambookies had rendered these exploits expedient during my absence ; but it will be proved, and it has been seen, that the expedition was planned before the death of Aldum was heard of, and no man with the ideas of a soldier of a month's service ever dreamt of the preconcerted arrangements in the operations of several thousands of men upon an extensive scale being deranged by such a casualty. However, I was thwarted most successfully ! My plans were subverted, and a Burgher Commandant-General had been taught that any Captain of Dragoons could at any time trample under foot his orders to his Burghers ! So far all may be very fine, but mark the glorious results ! the rich fruits ! The enemy, as ought to have been foreseen, saw our blunder, fell *en masse* upon the separate detachments, before Captain Hogg with his 1000 could support them, drove one into Shiloh, killing twelve, and severely wounding another of the party,—forced the second to retreat with the loss of several horses, saddles, and bridles, together with 2500 head of cattle which it had captured,—made the third fall back with little better success, and seeing Shilo denuded of its defenders, came down and swept off about one thousand head of cattle, including all that belonged to the Missionaries, and put to death two of the unfortunate herds-men,—whilst Captain Hogg's Commando coming up with the flocks which had been left with the aged and the boys, swept off about 3000 head of cattle, killing two of the men. At the same time some of the finest and bravest officers and men in the British Service, every one of whom would, I believe, at any time risk his own life to save that of a fellow-creature, particularly of the weak and defenceless, were by some bungling mismanagement

in the dead of the night misled into a peaceable kraal of Tambookies, where they destroyed eight (first reported *men*, but afterwards found to have been) *men, women, and children*. (*This has been reported to the Secretary of State as the gallant destruction of Aldum's murderers.*) Of the 3000 cattle just mentioned, not one was given to the Shilo institution to compensate for the thousand lost through the improper interference with the arrangements made by me for its protection ; though that loss left many without food, and though hundreds were sold by a sort of public auction for about one shilling per head ! a proceeding, the tendency whereof to render the continuation of the war desirable to many, and to demoralise the community, need not be pointed out. Even cattle belonging to one of the Shilo people, which had got mixed with the 3000 in consequence of some of Captain Hogg's party having burnt part of the kraal which contained them, were absolutely refused to be returned when claimed, and sold with the rest ; and seven horses which knocked up under the Shilo men, when they were overwhelmed by the enemy and left twelve of their party dead, were brought in with the said 3000 cattle, and notwithstanding application made to Captain Hogg, were withheld from the owners. It must, however, afford the Shilo party, who fought so desperately for their lives in their retreat, some consolation to find themselves *represented to the Secretary of State and the world as robbers and plunderers*. They, nevertheless, give this accusation *the most direct denial*. I admit that this unwarrantable interference, with its calamitous results, caused me as much indignation as grief, and I reported the facts and my sentiments thereon without flattering complacency, but with undeserved moderation. The Governor, however, set me down as

"contentious and acrimonious" without an attempt on his part at enquiry, or redress to or sympathy with, the unfortunate Shilo victims! Contentious and acrimonious indeed! What would His Excellency have said if Field-Cornet Devenish had sent the troops at Fort Cox and Block Drift, in the absence of Colonel Hare, to the right and left, and got them beaten and disgraced? Would Mr. D. have got a fine laudatory dispatch published by authority? Contentious and acrimonious! What? was I after defeat and disgrace to tell the Cape public and the British nation that we had "*chastised the enemy*"? and to flatter those whom my conscience told me were ruining the cause in which I had my heart and soul engaged, and plunging the mother-country in overwhelming expense? to keep up delusion, and draw million after million over the Atlantic? "Contentious and acrimonious!" Let the people of the Kat, the Koonap, and the upper Fish Rivers, for a moment reflect on the state to which these Districts were reduced by the grand movement of *the thousand* to the comparatively open country, where there were already to be 2500 upon my return from the Kei! Be it remembered that the reason (a solid one) why the 200 of the Swellendam Hottentots could not be spared to bring up my supplies from Block Drift to the Kaboosie, was that the whole of the First Division would be required to watch the Amatola and protect the said Districts. Now, can it be believed that whilst the said 1000 went to have a "favourable influence on my operations," as the Deputy Quarter-Master-General calls it, the whole of the country from near Graham's Town to Baviaan's River became exposed to every assault and devastation of the enemy. At De Bruin's Drift, where there were to be 300 men to cover the passes into the Hell Poort,

Zuurberg, and Bushman's River, and to keep open the communication between Graham's Town, East Riet River, and Cradock, there was *not a soul*; at Leeuwfontein, between Koonap Post and Fort Beaufort, where another 300 were to be stationed to protect the communication between the latter place and the eastern capital, to guard the Kat River in its front and the Koonap in its rear, there were only *a few post-riders*; two important stations of mine, Burghers of my own Division, placed at the Karoomo and Doora Kloof expressly to guard the Karoomo mountains and forests, middle Albany, Mancazana, and Baviaan's River (whence I had taken the most efficient men into the field), as well as to protect convoys of supplies, mails, &c., between Cradock, Somerset, and Fort Beaufort, were withdrawn in defiance of the remonstrance of the Civil Commissioner of Somerset, who had zealously consented to keep an eye upon this part of my command. And what was the "*favourable influence*" which all this had upon my operations? Just exactly that which I predicted when I first heard of the contemplated movement of the 1000, and when I could not believe it possible! The Kaffirs of course at once took advantage of the exposure of this part of our line. A body of 400 men of the First Division were driven helter-skelter down the Amatola to near Fort Cox, where they were saved only by Captain Stretch coming to their relief with a reinforcement; at the latter fort the enemy carried off the slaughter and draught cattle in open daylight at discretion. At Fort Beaufort, besides other mishaps, they took about 150 cavalry horses at one sweep within sight of the garrison. Near Blinkwater some hundreds of the contractor's slaughter oxen, on their way to the army, were captured in the same

way, leaving six of their escort killed. The Nells, the Bezuidenhouts, and others who had still thousands of sheep preserved after the first rush in April, were now finally ruined. The Kaffirs had already got unchecked into the Zuurberg, where in Hell Poort five brave Stellenbosch Burghers fell unnecessarily, but nobly. Depredations were incessant, and despair once more prevailed throughout the above extent, until in consequence of an agreement between Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, who had then succeeded to the command of the First Division, and myself, entered into at a meeting which took place at Blinkwater on the 26th September, his force and the Kat River Burghers were placed in defensive positions along the frontier; and because I state the simple facts and the calamitous consequences of the unwarrantable interference with my duties, I am set down as "*contentious and acrimonious!*" But to return to Shiloh. Before I left that institution Captain Hogg returned to it, and caused it to be proposed to me, through Captain Seagram, that I should co-operate with him (Captain Hogg) in a movement which he projected to the Imvanie, there to carry on operations against Mapassa. I at once informed Captain Seagram how much I regretted that so far from being able to consent to any such co-operations I should forthwith report to the Governor and protest against the whole of the proceeding above commented on. But besides this reply I had other reasons for declining to take any part in any one of Captain Hogg's operations. In the first place, I knew that the movement to the Imvanie would be useless if not injurious (it proved both). In the next place my Burghers had done their duty, under every annoyance, privation, and suffering; they had at all times been ready to search out and fight the enemy. They were

now exhausted, dismounted, and disgusted, yet still ready to defend the country and fight the enemy, even though they had the Governor's permission to go home ; but they were not such mere simpletons as not to have laughed at me outright if, in their present condition, when they had virtually been discharged by the highest authority, after having been for so many months separated from their families—many of whom were in the deepest distress—I could have ventured to order them back into a country which they had just scoured, in which no enemy had dared to look them in the face, and where they knew as well as I did that they could do nothing except incur additional ruinous expense and become the laughing-stock of the Tambookies ! But above all, I had found out, in the third place, that the Chief Umtirara had been communicated with in an improper manner, and that he was expected to join and co-operate with Captain Hogg's Commando against Mapassa. Thus Umtirara had been playing a most deceitful part from first to last, as any barbarian in his *circumstances* would do and as many a civilized ruler has done in all ages. I did not therefore trust him. But, moreover, I had, from the beginning of my entering on my command, told the Governor that I deemed it improper, as well as impolitic, for the British Government to call in the help of the native tribes, except those who were actually living under our protection and laws ; that it was particularly paltry and humiliating for us to set Kaffir against Kaffir, or Tambookie against Tambookie, and that I thought we were quite strong enough to crush the enemy single-handed, which I considered it our policy to show the South African races that we could do. (I am bound to add that His Excellency fully acquiesced in this view of the subject when I told him that I had, upon the

above grounds, rejected the offers of the Chiefs Kama and Hermanus to join my Division, *though these men were subsequently employed.*) My reply to them was, "If you have any quarrel with your tribe you may fight it out amongst yourselves, but you shall not, under my patronage at least, destroy your own brethren as auxiliaries of the Queen of England." I was consequently not likely to detain the said brave but crippled Burghers for the glory of scraping together a few hundred of the starving refuse of Mapassa's cattle, in company with Umtirara as the Queen's helper, and calling it a brilliant affair in the newspaper; but lest the term "improper" should here be considered severe, I shall give in detail the transaction which provokes it, and leave the reader to judge.

When I took upon myself the charge of Commandant General, the British Diplomatic Agent with the Tambookies, Mr. H. Fynn, was placed in communication with me. Everything that was done by us met with the Governor's entire approbation, except in one instance, when I thought the Agent wrong. This he was told, and there the matter ended. His zeal, activity, knowledge of the language and of the habits of the Tambookies, were of great use to me, and the Agent General, Major Smith, had been highly satisfied with him; but when Captain Hogg entered upon the expedition which was to have a "*favourable influence*" upon my operations, it was not only deemed necessary that *I should know nothing about it*, as above shown, but *the Diplomatic Agent who was co-operating with me heart and hand, who thoroughly understood my plans and knew how they could be "most favourably influenced" was also to be set aside*,—which was done in the most insulting illegal manner. *A messenger from Captain Hogg's Com-*

mando, totally unconnected with the diplomatic department, was sent to communicate with Umtirara, not at the residence of the agent, nor with the agent's knowledge, but four miles distant from the usual place of conference, the agent being left ignorant of the mission as well as its purport. This officer, however, learning by accident that the alleged object of the expedition was to avenge the death of Aldum, and *that an innocent Lraal was doomed to destruction without mercy, remonstrated in vain.* He was called upon to supply guides and a route, but his opinion was disregarded, and the result was as above stated—*the slaughter of eight unoffending wretches, men, women, and children!*” Favourable influence on my operations,” indeed! This part of the transaction is better described by Mr. Fynn himself in the following letter to Major Smith, of which he sent me a copy:—

“Tarka Post, August 25, 1846.

“SIR,—My letter of the 9th instant will have informed you of the Chief Umtirara's desire to attack Mapassa, with my declaration that the latter Chief's conduct had been such that he could be only considered an enemy, and that he would eventually be chastised by the Government if not by Umtirara. I further informed you, for the information of His Honour, my reply to Mapassa's messengers. This occurred on the 2nd instant. On the 4th I received Mr. Bonatz's communication reporting the death of Mr. Aldum, which I am satisfied occurred without the *immediate* knowledge of Mapassa, as I am fully aware that at the time he was endeavouring to save himself from destruction, by collecting those of his followers who *I* had pointed out as having proved themselves enemies to the Colony. He, Mapassa, had evidently then learned that the Gaika tribe were con-

vinced of their being subdued, which led him to the seizure of several offenders. The first whom he attempted to seize was Kowatte, who, in defending himself from being taken by Mapassa's people, was immediately shot by them. On the evening of the 15th I learned the above information, and on the morning of the 18th I despatched a messenger to Mapassa informing him that as I understood it was his intention to send to this Residency the parties whom I had pointed out as offenders against the Colony in this war, he must now perfectly understand that with Sir Andries Stockenstrom alone he could communicate—that as agent I could receive neither prisoners nor cattle. On the evening of the same day, the 18th, I received your letter of the 14th instant, informing me of his Honour's decision of capturing the cattle of the Gaika and other hostile tribes in the Bolotto country, by a force of 1000 men, under Captain Hogg of the 7th Dragoon Guards, desiring that I would afford that officer every assistance in my power. I at the same time received a letter from Captain Hogg, informing me of his Honour's decision that the Chief Mapassa should be attacked, and that my letter of the 9th instant had induced that measure. This letter from Captain Hogg is evidently written under the impression that your letter of the 14th of August had been lost by Mr. Ayliff, which, by its production, proved not to be the case. The two letters being thus before me, left me no alternative but to offer my services to Captain Seagram in any way to aid his movement with that of Captain Hogg. I therefore requested of Captain Seagram to let me know in what way I could serve him, when he requested I would supply him with guides. To my surprise, I then learned that Captain Seagram had received private instructions, conveyed verbally by

Mr. John Ayliff, to destroy a certain kraal belonging to Mapomo (a messenger of Mapassa, who was then *under my control*), to whom no mercy was to be shown. These instructions were evidently not intended for my knowledge. Mapomo being then here, I therefore requested Captain Seagram to take him prisoner for ultimate enquiry. I beg here particularly to remark that I did not then, nor do I now, believe that Mapassa or his brother is in any way connected with the murder of Jabez Aldum, on whose account, arising from some extraordinary indirect information given to the Government, the kraal of Mapomo was devoted to destruction without mercy. It was not a moment for me to oppose any orders issued to the military, otherwise than I did express to Captain Seagram, in the presence of Lieutenant Gordon, that the people of the kraal they were ordered to destroy were innocent of the murder of Jabez Aldum. I then gave a plan to Captain Seagram of the route from this to Mapassa's kraal, as pointed out by Mr. Ayliff to be that which should be taken by the detachment of this post. I learned the following morning that ten or twelve Tambookies had been shot by the detachment, who were found in the occupation of the kraal previously occupied by Mapomo, but who had three days previously removed. The prisoner Mapomo subsequently made his escape from this post.

"I was yesterday informed that Mr. John Ayliff, Aide-de-camp to Captain Hogg, was at the Haslope Hills mission station, four miles to the left of this Residency, with orders to require the Chief Umtirara to meet him there, for what orders I am not able to state. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will, doubtless, have good foundation to have justified private instructions to Captain Seagram, through Mr. John Ayliff, as well as on

the present occasion, that the latter person should be authorised to hold a private conversation with the Chief Umtirara without my knowledge. Such being the case, His Honour will, I trust, not hold me responsible for any evils which may have arisen, or may arise subsequent to the 18th instant.

"I have the honour to add, that the Chief Umtirara is at this moment at Haslope Hills to receive such instructions as may have been given to Mr. John Ayliff; and further to inform you that the petty Chief Gwadda, who has during the past ten years behaved in the most exemplary manner, arrived here this moment with the thirty head of Mapassa's cattle which were passing his place last night.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "H. F. FYNNE,

"To Major Smith, D. Q.-M.-Gen."

"D. Agent.

He, poor man, thought he was doing his duty; but I suppose that His Excellency considered him "*contentious and acrimonious*" for daring to think a kraal of human beings innocent who had been doomed to destruction, and had been destroyed without mercy, by this celebrated expedition,—for he soon found himself out of office, and has been ever since in a state of miserable penury. There may have been other matters pending against this officer—of them I know nothing; but, be it known that he defied investigation! That he was right in the matter now before us, particularly with reference to the unfortunate victims of our blundering and jealousy, no Christian will deny, except that he ought rather to have risked dismissal, or to have resigned, than to have provided the guides and the route.

However, the reason *given* for the cessation of his functions will be found in the following letter from the Military Secretary to Colonel Hare.

“Camp, Buffalo Post, August 27, 1846.

“SIR,—I am directed by the Commander-in-Chief to inform your Honour, that it is His Excellency’s wish that, during the present hostilities, the functions of the Diplomatic Agent at the Tarka should cease, in the same manner as those of the Agents of the other tribes have done, and that all diplomatic affairs should be conducted by the senior military officer on the spot.

“I have honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) “CHARLES MAITLAND,

“Captain Gr. Guards.

“To His Honour Col. Hare, C.B. K.H.”

Upon this letter it is only necessary to observe that Mr. Fynn was *not* in the same position as the other agents referred to, as we were *not* at war with Umtirara, the chief of the tribe with whom he resided, and with whom Sir P. Maitland continued diplomatic relations and complimentary intercourse through the Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Warner, until he retired from the Government.

But besides these reasons for not going to the Imvanie, I had a much more important matter to attend to. My health had suffered materially, and my spirits were considerably dejected by witnessing the result of the most contemptible jealousies in the frustration of the powers of the mightiest host that had ever been assembled in South Africa, composed of some of the finest and bravest military in the world, and the most loyal, efficient, and high-spirited Burgher force that any country could produce; sufficient at one swoop to settle the affairs of the frontier for ever, and brought together at an over-

whelming expense, which nothing but the hope that the remedy would be final could have rendered tolerable. I was, therefore, anxious to retire when my Division was broken up ; but I still fancied that I could see a chance of bringing the war at once to a satisfactory close, by procuring a fresh cavalry force for the purpose of crushing Kreli if he should prove false to the convention which he had entered into, or striking a final blow against the Western Kaffirs and Tambookies, as circumstances should require. With this view I sent Commandant Joubert to the emigrant farmers beyond the boundary, and finding my health rather better a few days later, followed in person. We were perfectly successful in obtaining the promise of a strong force to be ready to turn out as soon as rains should fall ;—in various parts of the Colony the Burghers were ready to follow me for such decided purposes, provided they were not uselessly detained until they and their cattle should be exhausted ; but the Governor did not see fit to avail himself of this force. The Burghers consequently had not the honour of finishing the war. Sir P. Maitland went over the Kei himself to finish it. He subdued the Kaffirs indeed !—or, as the High Commissioner told Messrs. Meurant and Nel, he “*made appear*” that he did ; and still we may ask, “When are the Kaffirs to be subdued ?” “When is the war to be finished ?” However, it appears then that I went to raise a fresh force among the emigrant farmers, instead of going to the Imvanie with Captain Hogg and Umtirara ; but before I left Shiloh I found that the host which was so “favourably to influence” my operations, could not even move to the Imvanie without being supplied out of my Commissariat. Captain Seagram, in the most gentlemanlike manner,

represented the matter to me. My reply was, "These supplies belong to Her Majesty ; I brought them here for Her service ; they are as much yours as mine ;"—and about 3000 pounds' weight of flour was forthwith issued. (Particular attention is requested to this part for reasons which shall soon be seen.) In the afternoon of the same day, however, a strong party of Captain Hogg's men came to me in a body, and in a most peremptory manner stated that they had been so cruelly treated by their officers that they were determined not to proceed another yard under their orders. I at once told them that I had nothing to do with them, but in the strongest terms impressed upon their minds the danger of mutinous conduct,—the obligation of doing their duty in which they were engaged, and the propriety of reserving their complaints for the Governor's cognizance when a proper opportunity should arrive. Upon this the men quietly returned to their camp immediately, and I leave to those then present at Shiloh to judge whether anything but this admonition of mine to this discontented party prevented then and there those disgraceful scenes which a few weeks later took place among the same corps at and near Fort Beaufort.

Well, then, the Imvanie expedition started from Shiloh during the night, and next morning the Rev. Mr. Bonatz, Moravian Missionary, came to me and stated that some thirty or forty of Captain Hogg's men had been left behind sick, and were lying about the Fingo huts in a most miserable condition, totally unprovided with provisions ; one of the party being an European officer, who, as Mr. Bonatz said, had given vent to the most bitter complaints of Captain Hogg's conduct, and denounced the expedition, by which so many men were so uselessly harassed, as having performed nothing on earth, and

being undertaken for no other purpose but to thwart the Commandant-General of the Burghers.* I answered Mr. Bonatz that I should not interfere with Captain Hogg's command, but that, if the men were really left destitute, they should not remain without food at least. I accompanied Mr. Bonatz to the spot where the party were—saw them lying about. The European officer came up to me, and with much evident irritation complained of the manner in which the party were left; but I provoked no farther discussion, and left Field-Captain Read, of my Division, who had the command at Shiloh during my absence, to ration these sick men as a matter of course; and this officer *not only supplied them out of my Commissariat during all the time that they remained at Shiloh, but took into his own room the sick officer whom Captain Hogg had left behind in the manner above described, and showed him every kindness and attention in his power.* It may be, moreover, observed that the said party could not have got a mouthful to eat except by the above means; yet on the 16th November Assistant-Commandant Hart informed me, from motives of kind solicitude, that he feared that the Governor's ears had been very much poisoned against me, as Captain Hogg had openly declared to an officer attached to my Division that he had reported to the Governor that *I had refused to allow those unfortunate men to receive rations.* My reply was simply this: "I cannot believe it; but if it be so—though Sir P. Maitland can know but little of me—he has those near who can tell him how likely I am to be troubled by the poisoned ear of a man who can receive such a report without giving me an opportunity of refuting it." Yet, as I had lately seen so much of what is generally considered impossible,

* This was repeated to Field-Captain Read by the same individual.

I at once obtained from Field-Captain Read the proof of the character of such a report, if it did exist, showing not only *that Captain Hogg's said sick men had been fed from my stores, but that his whole expedition had been most extensively supplied from the same source without the least demur or difficulty!* This proof was sent to the Governor, as will be seen by the correspondence, which also shows how dexterously the question was evaded. What the Governor's duty was with such a report and such a denial before him, let the Articles of War decide.

So much, then, for the Imvanie expedition, by which nothing on earth was accomplished except the violation of the convention with the Chief Kreli, on the faith whereof both that Chief and I were reposing until the Governor's fiat or reversal should be made known to us, and which violation justifies every act of hostility which that Chief may have perpetrated against us since, and would have justified his joining Mapassa and overwhelming me then, or at any subsequent moment of the period during which I was left ignorant of the decision of the Governor, who was despatching manifestoes against him by means of the Missionary Warner, passing by the regular channels of communication altogether.

Towards the close of September my rounds brought me to the Kat River, which was then under my command, and there I found Captain Hogg waiting for 300 Kat River Burghers, who had been ordered and were preparing to accompany him on another expedition against Mapassa. Captain Hogg's 1000 men were then lying perfectly idle at Shiloh, whilst the country along the Kat and Koonap Rivers was swarming with the enemy, in consequence of the disturbance of my arrangements as above shown. I had that very day

arranged with Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone that our troops should take up strong defensive positions along the Kat River. Philipton Church was burnt by the enemy that very night, and the Winterberg District was in the utmost consternation ; yet here were 300 men going to be marched away to a country where there were too many already, if properly managed ! To this movement I put a stop, of course, and this is "contentiousness and acrimony !" It may be so, but this arrangement of Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone and myself enabled Sir P. Maitland to tell the Secretary of State on the 26th November that since his last Dispatch the frontier districts had not been materially harassed by Kaffir marauders, and appeared then to be almost, if not altogether, unmolested.

From the Kat River, though I felt very unwell, I proceeded to Cradock, knowing that most of the leading men of that District would meet in the Town at Communion time ; and still expecting that the Governor would avail himself of the fresh force which I hoped to be able to bring down from among the emigrants, I was anxious to obtain as great a reinforcement of Cradock Burghers as possible. Nothing could be more encouraging than the reception which my proposal met with, and from Cradock I went to the Somerset District to invite the Burghers of that quarter to further service, as also to see my family for the first time since they had been obliged to withdraw to the rear. I considered the Cradock border perfectly secure with Captain Hogg's 1000 men and Field-Captain Read's 500 in advance of it, besides the Company of the 45th Regiment on the Zwart Kei, but I had hardly reached Zwager's Hoek when an express reached me that the Tambookies were overwhelming the Cradock border and had killed two

farmers. I started, with a fever which laid me prostrate at Cradock for several days. The Civil Commissioner had hurried to the front with great promptitude, and returned whilst I was confined to bed. He stated that Captain Hogg's Commando was still at Shiloh, and that there was no force whatever to protect his district except the said Company of the 45th; that he had written to Captain Hogg for assistance, and that the Burghers, who had been ordered out, were advancing to the border. As soon as I was able to move I proceeded to the same quarter. A Burgher force was assembling; but, in the meantime, the safety of this part of the frontier had been preserved by the vigilance and activity of Captain Seagram and his detachment. Captain Hogg's Commando was at Shiloh doing nothing. Its chief was not there; but when the officer who commanded in his absence received the application of the Civil Commissioner of Cradock, he sent a patrol, which marched to the Klass Smit's River and back. The whole of this force then broke up and proceeded to Fort Beaufort, having since its return from the Imvanie not performed a single service, except in a combined patrol with some of Field-Captain Read's men, capturing some fifteen or twenty horses, without a blow or scratch. I have thus given a full detail of the "favourable influence" which the said expedition had, and was said to be *intended* to have, on my operations; and though Sir P. Maitland thought that he had grounds for telling the Secretary of State on the 18th September, that Mapassa's part of the tribe was broken up by the attack of Umtirara ("*of his own accord*") on the one side, and that of Captain Hogg on the other, the above particulars show that, at the very time when Captain Hogg's Commando left Shiloh, where they were lying

idle, the Tambookies, in October, were carrying destruction into the district in its immediate rear, where they were checked by a handful of the 45th; and Field-Captain Read's reports, which Sir P. Maitland received, prove that whilst the said Commando were at Shiloh, depredations were committed by the Tambookies upon that very establishment. The truth is, that *after this Commando had left* Tambookieland, Field-Captain Read forthwith sent about 150 determined men against Mapassa, when this chief, hoping to overwhelm so small a detachment, did really "show fight," and was defeated, he himself being severely wounded, and many of his principal men killed. *Then it was, by this blow, followed up by another equally severe struck by Read himself,* whom I sent for the purpose with a stronger party immediately after, that "Mapassa's part of the tribe was broken up," and his messages suing for peace and offering to surrender poured in to Captain Seagram and myself. In short, when this breaking-up was effected, Captain Hogg was not with his Commando at all, and his Commando was in no way concerned; he was in Graham's Town.

About the middle of November, I received a letter enclosing a slip cut out of a Graham's Town paper of the 24th October, containing one of those monotonous outbursts in which I was, as usual, coupled with the "*imbecile*," Lord Glenelg (the greatest honour that could possibly be conferred on me), and denounced as clinging to opinions and principles from which I should be ashamed one moment to deviate! The letter accompanying this precious morsel attributed it to statements made to several individuals by Captain Hogg, purporting that he had read that part of my Despatch relative to my expedition to Kreli, which the Governor

had seen fit to withhold from the public, and in which I had recommended Lord Glenelg's humane policy as the only means of salvation for the Colony ; and that he had also seen the Governor prepare, sign, send off, recall, and destroy the dismissal of the Commandant-General. All this absurdity I treated with the same feeling which similar assaults had met with from me for so many years. The Governor had never given me the slightest hint that he had received any accusation against me, and when he "*without the least circumlocution or disguise,*" stated to me in his letter of the 27th December the exact points of difference between us, adding *that he did not consider them by themselves sufficient reason for depriving him of my assistance*, I looked upon the report of my dismissal as a mere fabrication ; but when such a respectable authority as Mr. Dodds Pringle voluntarily came forward and said that he was one of those to whom Captain Hogg had made the above statement, I deemed it right that the Governor should know my sense of the contrast between *his said proceedings* (if true) and *his said letter*. I now demand, *was my dismissal drawn out?*—and if so, *why?*

The following Despatches will give the reader the full particulars, unmutilated, and enable him to form his own opinion of their merits :—

“ Block Drift, November 27, 1846.

“SIR,—Your letter of the 25th inst. has reached me this evening, and I hasten to reply to it, in accordance with your wish to receive my answer at Kat River.

“To enter upon any discussion of the matters adverted to by you seems unnecessary as regards the public service, and is an undertaking to which my own feelings naturally disincline me. It is plain that I have formed

a different estimate from yours of Kreli's sincerity and truth, resting my opinion on many other testimonies besides Colonel Johnstone's official report. I also view the expedition of Kreli's kraal as having accomplished much less towards attaining satisfaction for the past and security for the future, which was its defined object, than you yourself deem it to have done. And we differ also on another subject: the tone and spirit of your official correspondence respecting the operations of certain officers of Her Majesty's army, written after your return from the Kei (*Vide Note 1*); you yourself considering that correspondence to have exhibited much forbearance, while to my mind, I confess, it was painful from the acrimony and contentiousness which it seemed to me to manifest.

"These are substantial points of difference between us, quite independent of any supposed secret or erroneous reports of which you seem to imagine yourself the victim. (*Vide Note 2.*) But while I state, without any circumlocution or disguise, that I do differ from you on these things, and that what has occurred has been embarrassing to me, and, in my opinion, detrimental to the public interest, I must also add that I should not have considered these differences, by themselves, sufficient to have deprived me of your assistance and co-operation in protecting the Colony till the close of hostilities; much less can they remove from my mind the sense which I entertain of your zeal and ability in commanding the Burgher forces and conducting their movements, whether in the Colony or Kaffirland.

"Under these circumstances in which you have tendered your resignation, I have no hesitation in accepting it. The defect of confidence, which you rightly say exists between us on some points of policy (*Vide Note 3*); the

probable near close of hostilities ; your own impaired health, and your desire to return to your family and the conduct of your private affairs, after so long an occupation with war, are all reasons to lessen the reluctance with which I should have surrendered your services at an earlier period, and to make it plain that your wish ought to be indulged. I therefore will not put any obstacle in the way of your immediately resigning your appointment.

“And now that you retire from active service, after having been engaged in arduous duties for the last seven months, in support of the Government during a trying time, and for the welfare of the harassed Colony, I beg that you will accept my thanks for your aid and services, and believe that I have no wish to detract from the commendation which I feel is due to you. I have not been unobservant of the energy with which you set about your duties, nor of the forethought with which you made provision for the campaign, nor of the ardour with which you inspired much of the force that followed your steps. Nor can I omit to give you the well-earned credit of having never spared yourself when the Service demanded your exertions, and of having set to the lowest under your command an example of encountering fatigue and privation with unflinching steadiness and fortitude.

“That we have differed in some points I regret ; but that in respect of others I can close our official connexion with this expression of approval, affords me sincere gratification.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

“P. MAITLAND.

“Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Baronet,

&c.

&c.

&c.”

NOTE 1.—By non-enquiry His Excellency disqualified himself as a competent judge of this correspondence, and rendered his decision obnoxious to the suspicion of partiality and favouritism.

NOTE 2.—Did His Excellency, or did he *not*, receive such secret reports?

NOTE 3.—I did not speak of want of confidence “on some points of policy.” I felt want of confidence in His Excellency as Governor and Commander-in-Chief generally, with every respect for his office and person.

“Zwager’s Hoek, December 9, 1846.

“SIR,—I have to apologise for so long delaying to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, which I received the same day ; but being anxious to take up as little of your valuable time as possible, and to close our correspondence at once, I deemed it most expedient to see as many of those persons who were witnesses of my conference with Kreli as I deemed within my reach, previous to making this final reply.

“Being quite sincere in the sentiments which I have expressed with reference to yourself, I can with difficulty utter the deep regret which I feel at the differences existing between us, more particularly as you have seen cause to convey your opinions on one of the points at issue in terms which are not very common in similar communications, and which compel me to revert to matter which, as I formerly hinted, it would be better to leave where it was, if possible ; for I must assure your Excellency that I have the satisfaction of knowing that the proceedings which appear to have struck you as contentious and acrimonious had the happy effect of checking a line of conduct which would soon have thrown the Cradock District, and re-plunged Upper Albany and Somerset, into that hopeless condition from which the two latter were rescued only three months previous. To a great extent this calamity was consummated, and truth extorts the admission that that which the public prints exhibited as brilliant military achieve-

ments consisted in a chain of disasters and mistakes whereby the enemy was emboldened, and the unfortunate, unwarlike Moravian institution of Shiloh and its members were rendered the principal sufferers ; whilst in the hour of real need the whole host in question was completely inactive, except in consuming the supplies which I had provided, and which I was falsely accused of withholding. To this host itself I can have nothing to object—they were men as good as my own ; and on the word ‘officers,’ I can only repeat that of Captain Seagram and his Subalterns and Surgeon, as well as others, I saw, heard, thought, or said nothing but what is honourable to them. That I did, and do feel indignant, I admit ; and to a distinguished soldier and honourable man I may safely admit the proposition what *my* fate would have been if I had presumed to send one of my Commandants or Field-Cornets by a secret manœuvre to take unwarrantable liberties with the First and Second Division which were taken with mine—to disturb the arrangement of a fellow-commander—to drive his troops into defeat and disgrace, and to report that they had themselves to thank for their misfortunes—thus giving strength to the prevailing suspicion that the results of the expedition responded to its *objects*, disorder and insult ! To write in a complimentary or complacent style upon such proceedings, I confess I do not consider for the good of the Service ; and I cannot divest myself of the confidence that if you had found time for an impartial investigation, your severity would not have been directed against one side of the question, whilst the absence of that investigation and consequent bias must considerably diminish the weight with which the displeasure of an officer of your Excellency’s standing and character would have fallen upon me.

"The other point of difference between us need not occupy much time. The report upon which you acted, and set aside mine, relative to my mission to Kreli being proved faulty, all argument on the consequent measures seems supererogatory. It is only necessary to add that, in the meantime, I have seen five of the witnesses who were present at the conference. All were confounded with surprise at the passage in Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone's report, inserted in your Excellency's letter of the 21st ultimo.

"1.—Field-Captain Read is positive that when I requested all the gentlemen present to assist me with their advice, or suggestions, at the close of the meeting, the Lieut.-Colonel said, '*Nothing can be more plain and satisfactory.*'

"2.—Commandant Groepe says, 'I can swear that all were perfectly satisfied: no one made the least objection—all were most cordial with Kreli—all shook hands with him—I saw Colonel Johnstone do so.'

"3.—Mr. C. Brownlee not only declares that all were *perfectly satisfied*, but that on walking from the conference back to the camp, Colonel Johnstone discussed the matter with Commandant Dodds Pringle, and agreed with him that all had been done that could be done and ought to have been done. This is fully confirmed by

"4.—Mr. Richard Paver, who heard the discussion between Colonel Johnstone and Mr. Pringle, and also declares that *all* shook hands with Kreli in the most cordial manner.

"5.—Commandant Dodds Pringle says, 'I was at Fort Beaufort last Saturday, 28th Nov. Colonel Johnstone came to speak to me on the subject, and asked me whether I did not hear him say that he was not satisfied

with Kreli's explanation *relative to Pato's cattle being in his country*. I said that I did hear him make an objection *on that subject* during the preliminary discussion, but that at the close of the conference he (Colonel Johnstone) and all of us were perfectly satisfied with the terms of the agreement, and that in walking from the conference to the camp he (Colonel Johnstone) had repeated his opinion that all that could be done had been done. *Colonel F. also admitted to me that he did shake hands with Kreli!*

"All these witnesses recollect Kreli's readiness and anxiety to let us have the slaughter cattle; particularly Brownlee and Klaas Love (Captain Stretch's interpreter), the latter of whom was not at the conference, declare that successive messengers were sent, and that the very particular oxen and cows which were known to be fat were named and ordered to be sent, to prevent our being put off with bad ones.

"Also, another witness has come forward—a gentleman of great respectability—Mr. Walter Currie, who says, 'I was not at the conference, but as soon as Colonel Johnstone returned from it to the camp, I went into his tent to enquire what had been done, and received from him a most favourable account of the transaction,—he called it a *master-stroke of policy*, or words to that effect.'

"The seven witnesses named above are not far from your Excellency, two others reside in the District of Beaufort, one in that of Colesberg, and another in that of Graaff Reinet.

"That I had some ground for imagining myself the victim of some secret or erroneous reports will appear from the following circumstances:—

"Whether you received that malicious charge formerly

adverted to of my having refused provisions to sick men engaged in Her Majesty's service, like myself, in defence of the Colony, is neither admitted nor denied by your Excellency. What I know is, that I never received notice of it, and that it was made matter of public boast that you had it, and that it had made the desired impression. Why, sir, even the manner in which these unfortunate men were abandoned in a state of destitution, to become the objects of the compassion and care of one of *my* officers, would be the subject of the severest reprehension before any Court of honour, equity, or justice, and would have afforded the most legitimate material for complaint, if I had been disposed to be contentious or acrimonious.

"And further, sir, I find that towards the close of October last, Captain Hogg, of the 7th Dragoon Guards, informed Commandant Pringle that he had seen your Excellency prepare, sign, send off, recall, and destroy the dismissal of the Commandant-General, and that he had read a Despatch of mine to your Excellency, in which I recommend Lord Glenelg's humane policy as the only means of salvation for the Colony.

"All this would be hardly worthy of notice if your Excellency's honoured name had not been mixed up with it ; and on the subject of my dismissal I can only remark, that if the statement be correct, my gratitude for the intended affront would be enhanced by the reflection that it must have been contemporary with some of my most strenuous exertions under a debilitating fever to remedy evils resulting from causes above detailed ; whilst it is satisfactory to know that the *object* with which the contents of my said Despatch were hawked about was perfectly abortive on such men as Pringle, and could only tell in quarters where its effect is to me a matter of

perfect indifference. That I presumed to submit my opinions by your Excellency at all was the result of your own urgent request, first conveyed through Mr. Stretch, and subsequently repeated orally by yourself. I speak of the *principles* urged by Lord Glenelg. I believe these to consist in truth and justice—I honour them—I believe your Excellency to be one of their strongest patrons; they would be popular with all honest men, if understood. I look upon every system that may be founded on anything else as vicious and ephemeral, and all those who know me know these to be my sentiments, the publication whereof to the world (be the motives good or evil) I shall certainly consider a very great compliment.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.

“His Excellency Lt.-Gen. Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.”

“Camp Zwart Kei, Matros Station,
“August 24, 1846.

“SIR,—I had the honour to address you, on the 14th instant, on the subject of a messenger sent to me by the Chief Kreli. On the morning of the 16th, as Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone had not joined me, I proceeded in the direction of Fort Beresford, and found that officer encamped at the yellow-wood trees. As no conveyance was found thence for my Despatch to headquarters, I had to send it round by Shiloh, and, consequently, fear that you can hardly as yet have received it.

“I broke up my camp at the Kaboosie on the 18th, after a long delay, and slowly advanced towards the Kei. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone joined me on the

Quanty, on the morning of the 20th. In the afternoon of that day, Kreli's Fingoe messenger again met me, holding in his hands the white flag. He was accompanied by two Kaffirs, one of whom was Kreli's principal councillor, who repeated the message which had been brought to me on the 14th, as formerly reported. This man entered fully into the points contained in my answer; but as his arguments were all subsequently repeated by Kreli, I shall, to avoid repetition, reserve a statement of them for my report of my conference with that chief in council. Lieutenant-Colonel Cloete and my Divisions encamped on the right bank of the Kei, where the Suxe joins it, on the night of the 20th, and next morning we crossed that river, having at daybreak dispatched Kreli's messenger back to him, with a repetition of my denunciation, and informing him of my determination to confer with him *in person, and at his own residence*. The passage of the river can hardly be said to have been disputed. A few shots were fired at us by the Kaffirs, of whom two were killed, and two wounded; but it is not certain to what tribe the assailants belonged.

"Soon after noon we reached Kreli's residence. The huts were abandoned, but a number of the chief's councillors received me with the white flag carried by one of them. They said that the country was in a state of great consternation at our approach, and that Kreli had fled to a great distance. After some hesitation, however, the chief and his councillors met me, when I at once stated to them our complaints and demands, as detailed in my said letter to you of the 14th instant. The council had evidently discussed the matter fully, for they promptly met me with the following reply:—

"Kreli (pronounced Gielie, or Saggieli, with the harsh

guttural) is indeed paramount chief of Kaffirland. He is the son of Hintza, who was the son of Galeka, who was the elder brother of Karabé (pronounced Gaggabé), the father of Gaika. Karabé was under the feet of Galeka, as Gaika was under the feet of Hintza. T'Slambie was under the feet of Gaika. Conga was under all. So all were under the feet of Hintza. Gaika stood up against Hintza. Hintza attacked him, and crushed him on the Deebé. If the English Government had not interfered Gaika would have remained under Hintza's feet, and Hintza could have been responsible for the Gaikas; for Hintza did not require or ask the English to help him, but the English did not sit still. They took the part of the rebel; they sent Commandoes—drove back the Galekas, and ruined the T'Slambies and Gonaquabies, who had espoused the right cause. [The Commandoes of 1818 and 1819, under Colonels Brereton and Wiltshire, are here alluded to.] This is the first war of the English which the Gaikas brought upon the Galekas. After the Gaikas were made strong by the English, and the Galekas made powerless, the Gaikas had war with the English, and the English wished Hintza to help against the Gaikas. The English war then came a second time upon the Galekas, and Hintza was killed. [The war of 1835 is here alluded to.] Peace was made. The English made treaties with the Gaikas and T'Slambies and Gonaquabies, independent of Kreli. And now that the English have quarrelled with these tribes, they bring the war for a third time upon the Galekas; and you wish to make us, whom you have weakened, to be responsible for the conduct of those whom you have made strong! This is not right. We sit still. We are at peace with the English. Kreli can rule, and be answerable for all Kaffirland, if the English

will not interfere between himself and his subjects ; and if the English acknowledge and countenance him as paramount chief, he will be responsible as such. But he has always sat still with respect to the English, and he will not now fight against the powerful army which you have brought here—we are sore afraid. We have heard of what the Commando has done. We are all flying. We admit that some of the Galekas have gone to help the Gaikas against the English in the present war, but they did not go with Kreli's consent or knowledge, and they were punished when they were discovered.

“ ‘ Kreli denies having insulted, imprisoned, or otherwise injured the Diplomatic Agent, Mr. Fynn, or other British subjects. He advised Mr. Fynn to come, with the others, to stay at or near his (Kreli's) own residence, so that he (Kreli) might the better protect them ; but Mr. Fynn became suspicious and alarmed, and fled without being pursued or detained. His property, and that of those who were about him, was subsequently destroyed, it is true ; but Kreli is anxious to discover the perpetrators, in order to punish them, and to indemnify Mr. Fynn. He has therefore repeatedly sent to request Mr. Fynn to return, as he is anxious to have an English Diplomatic Agent residing with him, because he wishes to be at peace with the English. But Mr. Fynn has hitherto refused to return.

“ ‘ Kreli denies, positively, all knowledge of any property plundered from the Colony being harboured in his territory. He knows a great part of that property to be still in the Boloto and the Ameva, but that is on the opposite (west) side of the Kei, where he has no longer any authority. He also knows of much of that property having been sent northward, but not through his territory.

Moreover, that property passed through the hands of the Tambookies, who are on bad terms with Kreli, and will not send such property to him.

“Kreli admits that Pato's cattle, mixed with some taken from the Colony, were driven into his territory, when Pato was pursued by the Commando from Fort Peddie, but he denies that he gave his consent to that cattle being so driven ; and he complains that the said Commando carried off some of his own cattle, together with those of Pato's. He declares himself ready now and at all times to search for and restore any property belonging to the Colony that can be proved to be in his territory, or to make just compensation, and punish the guilty parties ; but he will not be answerable for what is merely suspected, or said to be in his territory. As for the territory between the Kei and the Colony, it belonged of old to the Galekas, and ought not to be forfeited in a quarrel with the Gaikas, the T'Slambies, and Gonaquabies ; but as these have long occupied it, and have got into war, Kreli is ready to acknowledge the right of the British Government to said land, and to relinquish all claims of the Kaffirs thereto. Kreli trusts that he has now given every explanation and satisfaction, and hopes that you will make no further hostile movements in his country. He sees the strength of the English, and promises to remain at peace with them for ever.’

“Much detailed discussion followed, which it would be tedious to note down, as the substance is embraced in what is already above recorded ; and as Kreli had by this time become more at ease, I obtained his reluctant consent to allow *my council*, as I called the principal officers of our Commando, to be present at the declaration of the terms which he was prepared to enter into with the British Government. I consequently sent the in-

terpreter, Mr. C. Brownlee, to request the attendance of Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone and as many of the Burgher Commandants as he should conveniently find in the camp. The former officer and Messrs. Joubert, Du Toit, Groepe, Pringle, and Molteno soon returned with the interpreter, and I begged their assistance in making any proposals which their experience should suggest, and in witnessing the exact understanding which should take place between the chief and his council and myself. I am much indebted to their co-operation on this occasion ; and the result of our conference you will find drawn up in the enclosed documents, subscribed by us all. It contains, in my estimation, all that could be demanded under existing circumstances, drawn up in four distinct clauses, resting each upon a broad, comprehensive basis, embracing every possible point of dispute that can spring up between the contracting parties. It rests with the Government to ratify them, or to substitute better terms ; and to me there only remains to express a confident hope, that by improving upon our present position, our late misfortunes may prove sources of ultimate blessings ; feeling assured, as I do particularly with reference to the appropriation of the newly-acquired territory, that (as I had the honour to express myself in a letter to His Excellency the Governor direct, on the 14th instant) ‘ the honest, liberal, philosophic principles urged by the late Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, enforced by measures modified (*a*) according to the altered circumstances of the case, can alone ultimately conduct us to the desired goal.’

(*a*.)—As specimens of the modifications which I had in view, it may be necessary here to give extracts from two of my letters, written to Sir P. Maitland—not from any meddling officiousness, but at his own urgent request ; the first of said letters being the result of a conference with His Excellency, which, by his summons, cost me a journey of some one hundred and fifty miles, at a dangerous crisis, through a dangerous country.

"Towards sunset the conference broke up. I gave Kreli some wholesome, though severe advice, because he was pleased to express his entire confidence in me, and he gave us all his best thanks. Next morning, the 22nd, Kreli sent to inform me that some Kaffirs had stolen

June 3, 1846.

"Your Excellency will thus see that I contemplate six *permanent* strongholds beyond the present Colonial boundary, viz., Fort Peddie, Fort Wiltshire, Block Drift, Keiskamma Gorge, Buffalo River Gorge, and Port Rex; and though it may be precipitating the political part of the question which you have reserved for future considerations, I may at once state, that I contemplate the permanent incorporation of the Kaffir country, as far as the Kei, with the Colony, and the peopling thereof with such communities as will consent to live in villages and compact masses, for mutual and general defence, such as Peace or Christian Kaffirs, Fingoes, Hottentots, or even whites, upon the principle suggested by me to Sir Lowrie Cole in 1829, for the disposal of the ceded territory, as far as the coast, but only partially adopted in the Kat River Settlements."

August 14, 1846.

"The above points, however important, appear to me secondary to the future establishment of peace to the Colony and to its present enemies. The public mind is too much excited at present to admit of the calm consideration of the causes of the evils under which we labour, and though I have, by our many calamities, been confirmed in the views which I have for many years maintained on our Frontier policy, I deem all discussion of controverted matter out of time and place now, and here. On one point all parties must be agreed, viz., that the Kaffirs, with their late acquired knowledge of their strength, and their exasperated feelings against the Colony (be the causes what they may), are no longer safe neighbours to us, and that that strength must be broken, or one-third of the Colony at least abandoned to them, reserving to ourselves a precarious tenure of the remainder.

"I have already taken the liberty to propose the annexation to the Colony of the country as far as the Kei, and the exclusion therefrom of all Kaffirs, except on terms to be dictated by the British Government. I believe that with the strongholds of the Ammatola Range, and the Fish River and Keiskamma Jungles in our possession, we might place powerful checks upon our neighbours; but I must humbly request to be clearly understood that I feel perfectly satisfied that neither the safety of the Colony, nor the improvement of the Kaffirs, will be attained by the enforcement of Kaffir law by means of British magistrates and British bayonets."

Now, when the most important part of the above Despatch was withheld from the Secretary of State and from the public, and Colonel Johnstone's incorrect report forwarded to his Lordship instead of it,—if it then became expedient to place some individuals in Graham's Town in possession of the heterodox Glenelgite views contained in the suppressed passages, it strikes me that it would have been but fair if a correct version of *the whole truth* had been given.

some of our horses ; that upon its being reported to him, he had sent parties in pursuit of the thieves. On inquiry nineteen horses proved to be missing. We marched to the waggon drift at Hoole's station, and there recrossed the White Kei, and encamped on its right bank about sunset, where ten of the above stolen horses reached us from Kreli, with a message that he was in search of the remainder, as well as of the thieves.

" Having now left Kreli's country, I prepared to attack the Tambookie Chief, Mapassa, and marched in three Divisions of about 500 each upon the fastnesses of the Zwart Kei, whilst Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone had the goodness to scour the country to the north of the waggon road across the Braam Neck. We succeeded in capturing from six to seven thousand cattle, large flocks of goats, and a number of horses, killing many of the enemy, and destroying numberless huts.

" I admit that this part of the service is most humiliating, and that the true soldier is almost ashamed when he has to report the killing of a flying enemy who will not fight, and his own imitation of the barbarian cattle stealer and house burner ; but as there is no other mode of punishing an aggressor, whose impunity would be ruin to himself as well as to his victims, the harassing, fatiguing, but inglorious task, unredeemed by the least risk or danger, was performed with unmitigated severity, until the whole force reunited at this camp last night (*b*).

(*b*).—Why this passage was not deemed fit for public view I cannot understand. Ask any "*true soldier*" whether ninety-nine hundredths of every Kaffir war is not exactly what that passage depicts, and sometimes worse ! Let, for instance, the brave men who destroyed Gwadda's kraal—men who were made to storm a " St. Sebastian " say, what their sense of military pride was when they found that they had butchered and plundered sleeping, unresisting wretches of all ages and sexes, reposing upon the faith, and under the protection of the word of a British Representative ! I have this very day, by chance, met in this place (Graham's Town, Dec. 20, 1847) the said late Representative, Mr. Fynn, who drew my attention to more than one extraordinary passage in *the Blue Book*, but particularly

"Hence I march to-day to my depôt at Shiloh, and here Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone's Division leaves me. To that officer I have to express my sincere thanks for his readiness at all times to co-operate with me and assist me. To every officer and man under my orders I am equally indebted for their endurance and zeal, during a long march over a difficult country destitute of pasturage, the horses knocking up, and being shot in numbers, and their owners not only obliged thus to abandon property, but to carry heavy packs. I am at the same time happy to say that we did not lose a single man.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

Why the Secretary of State and the public were not deemed entitled to know its contents still remains a mystery! why, if the Minister and the public were not thus entitled, Captain Hogg should have access to those contents, seems equally inexplicable, and that those contents should be conveyed to the Graham's Town people orally in a distorted shape, instead of being communicated literally through the official press excites serious suspi-

to page 171, where it is asserted that "Capt. Hogg having communicated with Mr. Fynn of the Tarka, it was agreed," whereas by Mr. Fynn's letter to Major Smith it will be seen that he (Mr. Fynn) was insultingly and unlawfully superseded in his functions, and that the massacre was executed in defiance of his emphatic warning that the doomed victims were "innocent and under his control." The report thus pointed out by Mr. Fynn as incorrect was sent to Downing Street by Sir P. Maitland, under cover of his Despatch of the 18th September, 1846, when he was in possession, not only of Mr. Fynn's version of the transaction, but of mine, neither of which was deemed worthy of the Secretary of State's notice!

Such then was this expedition of the thousand! It may be *fine fun* to pluck a feather out of the cap of an "ambitious Boer of Swedish extraction," but it has been anything but fun to Gwadda's kraal, to the Shiloh Institution, to the Koonap Farmers, to the Galekas, and to the British Exchequer; and if even patronage and interest could countenance such exploits, all the powers on earth combined cannot make them either martially glorious, politically wise, or morally right.—A. S.

cions. But if it were hoped thereby to set the whole population in a fever of fury, and to revive the "*no Glenelg, no Stockenstrom*" howl, by showing that the shout would meet with a loud and cordial echo in high quarters, where dismissal was hanging over the head of the Commandant-General, the agitation turned out a miserable failure. Englishmen may be long mistaken, some of them are very often very violent, *but they are never base en masse*. No man of so little importance has ever had greater opposition to contend with than myself. I might perhaps say, with a great philanthropist now at rest, "I am the best abused man in Africa!"—but no one, however popular, has ever, as an individual, met more consideration and kindness than I have to thank the public for, notwithstanding my political delinquencies. If my views of Frontier policy are erroneous, they are known to be conscientious,—and in spite of all the flimsy trash that has been uttered, written, and published about my "seeing and admitting my mistake"—my efforts to "retrieve," and a great deal more such nonsense—every word that I have spoken or written in public or private, prove, on the contrary, that the events of the ten last years have incurably confirmed the "monomania" in which I may without danger be allowed to indulge, as I have as little the wish as the hope of ever having the power of rendering the disease mischievous. I know that I have a vast majority of my brethren opposed to me. There are among that majority men of the highest honour, talents, and integrity,—some of whom I am proud to call friends,—their honest opposition never in the remotest degree diminished my respect or esteem, and even when dissent is expressed with a degree of bitterness far exceeding the bounds of legitimate controversial vituperation, I have been too long in the

world not to make allowance for the passions which political partizanship is so well calculated to engender ; but no consideration of friendship, no fear of offending, has made me, or can make me suppress the conviction so firmly rooted in my mind, that England must choose between the principles which I am accused of advocating on the one hand, and *extermination* on the other,—which latter will continue to draw millions from her exchequer into South Africa for years to come,—and that the true cause of her having paid so dear lately was the vacillation of which the Colony and Kaffirland were alternately the victims, but more particularly the mistaken policy of the local Government of 1844.

If my views on this latter point should be considered worthy of being farther known, they are to be found in my reply to the late Lieut.-Governor's circular, of the 26th June last, which reply, I understand, is already in print.

That my statements are strongly expressed I know. I intend them to be so. Let those who think them "acrimonious" ask the Burghers what they suffered during this unfortunate war, and what thanks they got. Let them ask my own Division—officers and privates—what I patiently submitted to until farther submission would have been criminal. Let them inspect the so-called "blue book," and see discredit thrown on my acts as well as my reports ; the latter (upon the correctness whereof I will stake my life) set aside, and the Supreme Government and the public misled by others which I prove incorrect. Let them keep in view my reiterated prayers for the investigation and exposure of the truth, treated with persevering contempt, and let them say whether oily complacency would have been anything short of meanness !

Here I should have done, were it not for an idea lately

attempted to be spread abroad, that as the Burgher forces could not be urged *by motives of loyalty and of patriotism* to turn out against the enemy upon the call of the High Commissioner, it became necessary to draw them into the field,—the one part *by means of bags of sovereigns and a fiddle, through the brandy shops, and through scenes of the most disgusting indecencies*,—and the other part *by license to outstrip the savage in rapine and massacre*. I must, therefore, in a few words state the facts of the case.

That the transactions of the war previous to the arrival of the High Commissioner had rendered the Burghers very averse to further military service, is not matter of surprise ; but, nevertheless, I received messages from various quarters that they were ready to follow me, and I was informed that memorials had been sent in praying that I might be reappointed Commandant-General. I was very unwell, and still more so the principal member of my family, who had considerably suffered during eight months' exposure in a miserable house to a severe climate and anxiety of mind. A trip to the coast was deemed necessary for both. I had had quite enough of the Commandant-Generalship, and the losses connected therewith, yet I deemed it a duty (with a determination of not obtruding myself on the High Commissioner) still to remain at his disposal if I should be wanted. His first Proclamation calling for volunteers brought some hundreds into the field without me ; but when, at the end of a month, a relief was wanted and called for, His Excellency requested of me to take the command of the fresh levy, I was then actually confined to my couch by severe rheumatism ; but without knowing what my office or powers were to be, trusting to the high character of the Governor and the Commandant-General, I was happy and proud to give them my support,—I ordered the payment of extra

premium on my life assurance, which had already cost me a considerable sum, to be resumed, and using every influence to bring forward a strong force, proceeded, lame and tortured by pain, to Block Drift,—but not before giving the High Commissioner my humble opinion that the volunteer system would prove a failure; and so it did. Many people asked me in what capacity I was going, and whether I should have sufficient power to prevent military interference, and to make an end of the war at once. My answer was, that I should take my chance of that with confidence in the men at the helm. This proved a damper to a certain extent, but still I understood that numbers were preparing to come, when part of the first month's volunteers were disbanded, and on their return home reported that they had done nothing but escort waggons, and move from camp to camp. Assistant-Commandant Pringle, who had now for a second time taken the field during the present war, called upon me on his way home, to tell me that he was ready to follow me again, after merely going to his house for a change of linen, provided there were any certainty of a *final* struggle.

Then followed the information that an official report had been made to the High Commissioner, *that the whole country to and beyond the Nahoona had been thoroughly scoured, when not a man had been five miles beyond the Buffalo!* This certainly disheartened me, foreseeing that we were falling back into our old trammels.

At Fort Beaufort only some twenty men assembled. Still determined even with them to do all in my power, I reported the state of the case to the High Commissioner, and proceeded on towards Block Drift, and thence sent two intelligent Burgher officers to headquarters, who would be able to afford His Excellency every information as to the best mode of assembling an efficient

Burgher force. His Excellency could not see them, but most politely thanked me for my exertions, expressing his hope that I should no longer remain in the field. I returned home accordingly ; but though my health, and that of part of my family, urgently demanded change of air, I deemed it my duty to remain at my post until the issue of the Proclamation of the 27th of August, 1847, the principles whereof I found it impossible to reconcile with those which I believe to actuate the British Government and nation, and with my own views of our political interest and moral duty. To the eternal honour of the Colony be it recorded that this view of the subject was general and simultaneous ; but some few Burghers did go, and were soon sent back with a decoy of some hundreds of cattle and some dozen of horses. The bait took with some, and the "*new system*" may be said to "*promise well*;" but the Colony as a whole still nobly stands aloof. Many who have lost great part of, if not all, their property are told that they are not to be compensated by the mother-country, and, not being disposed to turn freebooters, may struggle on in poverty, and see others who never had or never lost a single beast amply enriched. In the meantime, *the second year of a Kaffir war!* is closing, as little prosperous as the first. A new Governor is expected ! What has been the expense ? How much might have been saved ?

A. STOCKENSTROM.

Maasstrom, November, 1847.

Such then was the Burgher Campaign of 1846-47, and the reader will not be surprised to find the biographical notes continuing.

Lo and behold, no sooner did I find it equally my duty to try to stop the effusion of blood and treasure, than I

became at once retransformed into the old anti-Colonial fiend. No language was deemed scurrilous enough to depict my delinquencies with the dastard, indirect insinuation that there was treason at bottom, for which diabolical idea there could be no possible pretext except my having allowed the Chief Kreli to return to his people safe and sound, when he had placed himself in my power, upon the faith of my name, my word, and my honour, instead of blowing out his brains, and sending his ears salted in a tin tobacco-box, with a piece of doggerel poetry, by the Royal Mail to the Colonial Office. Seeing myself become an object of the jealousy and hatred of a miserable but influential clique of runaways, I resigned. Clamour continued clamorous, war continued bloody, and John Bull continued to bleed freely. The scramble was terrific. A good Governor, whose whole life had been a career of honour and glory, being by his years unequal to the emergency, unable to remember to-day what he had ordered yesterday, fell a victim to a set of rogues and fools,—renewed hostilities against Kreli in violation of a compact which he himself had commanded, and only added another miserable failure to the several military operations of that unhappy period, and terminated official life with a dismissal,—affording a melancholy picture of Colonial administration, to see a man of so exalted a character, so many exemplary virtues, and such long and meritorious services as Sir P. Maitland certainly was, sent out when broken down in body and mind, and thrown into a position where he could not help exposing himself to be dismissed by Lord Grey. However, before his departure he issued a Proclamation, in which he declared the war at an end. This his successor denied. I can only for ever deeply regret the collision with myself into which he was betrayed by

those who knew how to poison his ear. Lord Grey haughtily and insolently ignored the services of the Burgher force, though they were pointedly brought to his notice ; and his finding fault with Sir P. Maitland for not employing one native tribe in cutting the throats of another in Her Majesty's behalf, added another proof of his fitness for the office of Colonial Minister. Whilst the Burghers of the Western and Northern Divisions, hundreds of miles distant from their families, their ploughs, their homes, their all, who are daily and insolently accused of want of sympathy with the jewel in the South-East, were wrestling with the foe and privations, the noisy, the grasping, self-styled élite were comfortably domesticated, filling their pockets, and slandering those who defended and despised them. Sir Henry Pottinger was too shrewd not to see through the game, and not being one of "my uncle's protégés," and independent of the "black list," he denounced the frauds, so that every one expected to see the saddle on the right horse at last ; but instead of following up the spoor, which by means of careful search would have led to the den of real thieves, the mountain in labour produced a mouse in the shape of a false accusation against an innocent man, and accounts for a couple of million were cast into oblivion upon the plea of their having become *incomprehensible* ; but in reality because it was feared that the simple element of arithmetic might awkwardly interfere with the list of promotions, which the interest and convenience of some powerful parties rendered politic. The army list shows *my reward* in the *promotion* from Colonel on the Staff to Captain on half-pay (without the half-pay), whilst my brother Colonel, the real hero of Burns Hill, was some time after made Major-General by the same authority, but having an uncle at the Horse Guards, got his promotion confirmed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1847-1853.

1847-1853. Sir H. Pottinger renews war—Asks assistance of Sir A. Stockenstrom—Journey to Block Drift—No Burgher Force—War Office—Treatment—Difference in 1861—Sir Henry Young—Separation of provinces—Arbitrary Government—Andries Pretorius—Refused interview—Consequences—Zacharias Pretorius—Sir Harry Smith—Elected to seat in Council—Resigns—Deputed with Fairbairn—War of 1851—Why not in command of Burghers—Hostility of Government—Official calumnies—Disgraceful proceedings—And rumours circulated—Lord J. Russell attacks him in Parliament—Burning of Maasstrom—By whom done—At whose instigation—Proofs against perpetrators—Conduct of Kaffir Adam—Cabals and factions—Returned as Member of Council—Travelling allowances as M. L. C.—Visits Frontier, 1852—Again in 1853—Establishment of Bedford.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER, having resolved to renew the war, wrote to me requesting that I should resume the command of the Burgher Forces. I never saw His Excellency. When his letter reached me I was stretched on my couch with severe cough and rheumatism, but refuse I could not. I at once started for Block Drift, where a force was to meet me; but I soon found that the Boers had been told, through some dirty intrigue, that I had quarrelled with the Government, and *would* not take the command, and that I was dangerously ill and *could* not do so. At any rate, not a single Boer made his appearance at the place of rendezvous, where I found I had got my “coup de grâce”—for, having to find my way home some eighty miles through very inclement weather, I increased my bronchial complaint, from which I have never recovered.

With Sir H. Pottinger my intercourse was very limited. I differed with him in his war policy, and deemed his treatment of the Hottentots cruel and unjust. Here, then, we have the Commandant-General defunct ; but what was to become of the "*Colonel on the Staff?*" Some of my friends began to congratulate me on having obtained three steps at once ; but I knew that I was "*on my uncle's black list*," and could smile at the kind wishes. I had already experienced to what extent mean spite could be carried, and here I repeat that it is quite possible that some old dusty rules might be raked up as pleas for injustice ; but the short and simple question is, "If I had been the hero of Burns Hill or of Umtata, with my uncle in the Horse Guards, but not on his black list, should I, after saving the Colony more than once with the help of the Burghers, after having been six- or seven-and-twenty years on half-pay, have been put back from Colonel on the Staff to Captain on half-pay (less the pay!)?"

The answer is just as simple. Three or four years later the Commander-in-Chief at the Cape, Sir H. Smith, with the fear of "*my uncle*" before him, gazetted Colonel H. Somerset to be a Major-General, exactly as the Commander-in-Chief, Sir P. Maitland, had gazetted me to be Colonel on the Staff. Many people asked one another, "For what is the Major-Generalship given?" The Horse Guards could not trouble itself with such trifling questions, and "*my uncle*," instead of waiting till the war was over, and then squeezing the nephew back into the Colonelcy, at once got the promotion confirmed. Is there no favouritism, patronage, and jobbing in all this? Be it remembered that Colonel Somerset and I were Captains together in 1820, and let our services since then be compared. But the indecent

persecution of so humble an individual as myself did not stop here. As there was no getting at me for the least sin of commission or omission during the whole of my public life, a stealthy attack on my commission seemed the most vulnerable point, and my name was quietly left out of the Army List for twelve years. when I accidentally discovered it, and drew it to the notice of that Paragon of a War Minister, Lord Panmure, who believed he was competent mercifully to reinstate me, through one of his junior clerks.

I think it impossible to contemplate the British aristocracy as a whole without the most profound respect and admiration. The vast abilities, the perfect education, the deservedly great moral influence, and the inexhaustible riches of the great majority, constitute it, politically and socially, the most important institution in the world, whose destruction would soon be followed by that of our happy constitution, laws, and liberties; and therefore so much the greater is the pity, that in so exalted a body sometimes weak, foolish men should be found, who by false pride which is invariably combined with a contemptible stupidity, reflecting discredit on their blushing compeers, and exciting the compassion of non-nobles, whom they venture to insult by their arrogance, or, worse still, by their condescension.

There is, however, one consolation. No uncle rules paramount at the Horse Guards now. In 1861, I was supposed to be dying at the Cape; when my eldest son, having gone through a most satisfactory examination, wished to obtain a Commission. My wife, being my only representative, proceeded in person to the military and private secretaries, and instead of her *name* putting the place on fire, she met with the most perfect justice, the admission of my services, and in

every respect felt herself with public servants worthy of the greatest and best Queen in the world. The severest discipline every man of sense approves of. Send begging over the world whoever disgraces Her Majesty or Her Majesty's Commission, but let honour, truth, patriotism, and independence be certain of your support, and not stand behind the parasite, the sycophant, and the coward.

When Sir H. Smith relieved Sir H. Pottinger I was living retired, sick and exhausted. I had done my duty, and had the whole country in my favour, excepting always the half-dozen or dozen conspirators, whose machinations I could afford to laugh to scorn.

With Sir Henry Young I had little intercourse, and never saw him. He was, I believe, a most competent officer and worthy gentleman. His correspondence with me refers chiefly to the separation of the Eastern and Western Provinces, and a desire that I should again take a seat in the old nominee council. My reply to his circular on the government of the Eastern Province, as well as that on the latter subject, are in print. I freely confess that I had long doubted the ripeness of the Colony for constitutional government. I thought that municipalities and elective boards of Heemraden, under a wise Colonial Minister and an enlightened Governor, were all that we were likely to require for still many years, and would be safe preliminary schools of transition to the more popular system. But when Sir Henry Pottinger turned an expedition against the Kaffirs into a gang of freebooters; when he wantonly and in mere abuse of authority slandered a powerless oppressed community, pretending to promote a moral reformation among them by sending them, as if done in derision of all morality and decency, an official whose moral character would not bear scrutiny; when I saw that

there was no remedy for all this—that the tyrant could plant his iron heel wherever he saw fit with perfect impunity—it struck me that the Colony might be rotten before it should be ripe, and, at least, it called for some counterpoise to this fearful weight of “*I can, I will, and you shall.*”

The Governor thought himself too great and wise a man to be under anybody's influence. I was supposed to be rapidly breaking down from the effects of the last campaign, so that action on my part was for a long time out of the question, particularly as I had determined to eschew public affairs. My health had received a fearful shock. Of the losses entailed upon me by the occupation of my property as a Government depôt, by the depredations of the enemy, by the extra life assurance which I had to pay for taking the field, and by other expenses inseparably connected with sending my family out of the way and doing my military duty, I say nothing, because many a poor man who could less afford it suffered proportionally more. But my withdrawal was not destined to be final.

A base attempt was made to deprive me of my pension (as if a man of Lord Grey's high character, whatever his feeling towards me, would have the meanness and malice to lend himself to such a piece of spoliation, even if he had the power). This attempt was founded on the pretext that the pension assisted me in meddling with Government matters; and so far was this falsehood successful, that a respectable but cast-off satellite of the Whigs—a sort of Whig asteroid, since reabsorbed into the system—called me in the House of Commons “*the ablest agitator against Sir H. Smith's Government.*”

Now I call upon my bitterest enemies, as well as my most confidential friends, who have watched my course

of life, to say whether it was possible for any human being more scrupulously to avoid everything that could interfere with my domestic enjoyments and private interests than I did, except by the desire or by the acts of the Government itself ; by the voice of the public ; by duty to my country ; or by the imperative call of self-defence against calumny and injustice. Of the confidence evinced towards me on so many momentous occasions I certainly am not ashamed ; but I never courted its exhibition or its notoriety.

Thus, then, shortly after my then last retirement from the service, Andries Pretorius made his appearance at my house, having been deputed by the people of Port Natal to represent their case to Governor Pottinger ; he had swum the Fish River, as he said, at the risk of his life, to consult "*his best friend and father*," as he called "the man under whose magistracy he and so many of his fellow-emigrants grew up and prospered." The weather detained him for three days, during which the most confidential communication opened to me his innermost thoughts, and made him depart for Graham's Town with the thorough conviction that independence of Great Britain could ultimately lead only to the anarchy and ruin of himself and his followers. This was one of the men who was said to have emigrated because I had come out as Lieutenant-Governor, and had upset the D'Urban system.

The treatment which he received from the Governor sent him back across the Orange River furious and desperate. His subsequent proceedings in connection with the next Governor are too well-known to require detail here ; but it is due to the memory of poor Pretorius to say that he was no fool, as the celebrated letter which he wrote to me, and which I of course sent

to Governor Smith, might be taken to indicate. Sooner or later it will be discovered that the message which made him believe in the possibility of my being engaged in, or organising a force to co-operate with him in his rebellion, had its source in a higher region than that through which it was conveyed. Why was not this source traced as soon as the Governor received the letter? The satanic object of the plot was self-evident.

Next came the case of poor Zacharias Pretorius about the lands of the Tambookies promised to the Boers, and then the Kat River arsons, with both which I positively refused to meddle until the Government saw fit to catechise me, when ample provocation and repeated insults induced me, I admit, to pay off more than was at the moment bargained for. There we have the most popular of Governors in collision with the most unpopular of Her Majesty's subjects.

In 1850 the people of the Cape were for the first time called upon to choose their own legislators. To the many urgent applications that I should allow myself to be nominated as a candidate, I objected the state of my health. I considered myself physically and mentally unfit for so responsible a charge. My plea was overruled by the alleged urgency of the crisis; so that, having submitted to the arguments of my friends, I became, *with all my unpopularity*, one of those at the head of the list, with a vast majority.

Being deputed to complete a constitution, I declined legislating on any other subject. This point being carried against me, I retired from the Council, rather than exceed the powers vested in me. The constitution, therefore, having to be struggled for at headquarters, the same Cape people determined to depute two of their body for that purpose. My wish to avoid this commis-

sion was well known. To leave at so great a distance, and at a moment when the affairs of the Frontier were in a most precarious state, part of my family, and all the property that I possessed in the world at the mercy of enemies of all sorts, appeared to me more than could be expected; and that my absence was the ruin of that property will be shown hereafter.

The state of my health was such that some of the first physicians gave me a certificate that my arrival in England during the autumn might endanger my life; but I was again met with the retort that the critical position of my native country was paramount to every personal consideration, and that I might regulate my departure according to the season. Here, then, you have the very man, whom Lord Normanby was made to believe so unpopular, that his return to the Colony as Lieut.-Governor might cause a rebellion, deputed, in defiance of every wish and plea to be excused, in the most important matter that the Colony has ever had at stake, as the co-delegate of one, to whom that same Colony is more deeply indebted than to any other man that was ever in it.

These reiterated demonstrations of public confidence set Sir G. Napier's geese a-cackling with redoubled clang, determined to make up by the noise of these fabrications for the neutrality of the respectable part of my political adversaries, who refused to share in the vile slander, and towards whom I trust I have never failed in personal respect. I fully acquit them of the least participation in the base transactions which I am going to depict. The Frontier comedy, as every man of common sense and the least experience foresaw, had its *dénouement* in a tragedy. Another edition of Burns Hill was exhibited higher up the Keiskamma. Panic,

massacre, and arson were once more rife. Patriots "hailed the sun once more bursting forth" for making *hay*; were they to miss such a glorious opportunity for cramming their pockets and slandering their bitterest enemies, the "pseudo-philanthropists and would-be Chartists?"

Just then, as I was preparing to proceed on my mission, the public voice again called the unpopular ex-Lieutenant-Governor to the head of the Burgher forces. In this call many of my political adversaries, above alluded to, joined. The denunciation which my reply drew from them never provoked retaliation on my part, for I knew they would regret their rash proceeding as soon as they should understand that if I had dared to act up to their requisition, when the Governor had appointed another officer to command the Burghers, I should have exposed myself not only to insult, but, under martial law, to very summary and very just expulsion. This fracas can be found in the local prints, and to show to what height party spirit had risen, it is only necessary to refer to some of the signatures to the denunciation, being some of the most respectable men in South Africa; for instance, one of the best of living beings, and a very dear friend of mine, Mr. P. Heugh! My reply was, that I was ready to serve either against the enemy in Kaffirland, or to promote the constitution in London, according as the Government and the people should see fit to require. What else could I say or do? I knew perfectly well that the Burgher force stood at the time in as agreeable odour as I did in high quarters.

At the very moment when I declared myself prepared to go either East or North, provided I could serve the country, I was told that it was folly to wait for a call from the Government, as a hint that my appointment to

the Commandant-Generalship would induce the Boers to take the field, had been thus met : "D——n him and his Boers ; we shall soon settle the whole matter with the military, the English, the Hottentots, and the Fingoes ;" yet the vilest slander was officially promulgated about the contumacy of the Burghers, with the most libellous insinuations against their loyalty, and those by whom they were alleged to be influenced.

These official calumnies were backed by a few non-official echoes, of which I became the principal target. No Boer could show disaffection, no Hottentot could rebel without some cowardly attempt to identify me with the treason by hints or insinuations, which, among men of common decency, could only excite horror by their baseness, if they had not sickened by their stupidity, although they were repeated and propagated through channels and organs, which had been fostered, or originated under the auspices of Church and State, for the avowed purpose of crushing to atoms, by the most brutal scurrility, and the most insolent attempts at intimidation, every effort at resisting despotism and reforming abuses. Two brave young Englishmen, as loyal and respectable as ever trod African soil, were inculpated in my treason, upon no other possible ground than their daring by themselves to defend their own and my property to the last, instead of running away like cowards, when shamefully left in the lurch by the great popular Hero, whose sacred duty it was to defend them. They desired no jobs, and had no addresses to sign.

Some hundreds of cattle were given to a Kaffir spy, who had made the all-important discovery that, under the pretext of struggling for a constitution, I was virtually acting as the secret agent of the rebel chief Sandilli in London, and this puerile trash was by that beau ideal of

a Colonial Minister, Lord Grey, deemed worthy of a place in the *Gazette*, for the information of a mighty nation, whereas the most important documents have been repeatedly withheld from Parliament and the world ; nor did his Lordship hesitate to take upon himself to stigmatise as "improper" my *self-defence* in the review of some of the proceedings of his pet Governor, whom he himself, some months after, uncourteously dismissed.

Then, as a proof how even the best of us may have our moral optics distorted by false representations, Lord John Russell—whom I even now look upon as one of the most honourable, enlightened statesmen England has ever produced, whom I believe to have been perfectly sincere in the desire so warmly expressed to extend liberty and representative institutions to the Colonies, and whose views I firmly believed I was seconding in honestly promoting the wishes and interests of my constituents—slanderosly denounced me in the House of Commons. He is incapable of falsehood, and only deceived his audience by proxy ; but, meeting with a flat denial, he had not the generosity to investigate or at once to admit his mistake, but backed his charge by authority, which he must soon have found worth just as much as that of the Kaffir spy ; for he came out at last, though too late, with a sort of milk-and-water concession, which certainly did not add to my respect.

I wonder whether his Lordship, if reminded of the matter, would have the candour to compare his vote of the 3rd March, 1857, against Lord Palmerston's Government to my resistance to the Montague Smith domination of 1850. I hope and believe that his proceeding was as *conscientious* and as free from factious motives as mine ; but it certainly was not as disinterested. At least,

I could not be suspected of aspiring to the post of either the Secretary or his subservient master, and no one doubts that Lord J. Russell expects once more to be Premier. (It does him honour.) If my resistance to a despotic, yet imbecile Government, when I was literally dragged from retirement, and forced into a position, where honour and good faith to my constituents left no alternative, can be called factious agitation, his Lordship's conduct in connection with the Reform Bill, and other acts done by him in Opposition, can be nothing short of high treason.

When he shall return to power, which I hope may be soon, I defy him, with all the help which he will have at command, Colonial as well as Imperial, to lay his finger upon one single act of my life that is open to the slightest censure, when tried by the standard of his own public conduct.

However, my character being beyond the reach of malice, the ruin of my purse became the desperate aim of the *true loyalists* of the Cape ; and no fitter weapon for this patriotic undertaking could be contrived than that most infamous of falsehoods that my residence was standing alone untouched, like a "Gem in the Desert," whilst the whole neighbourhood was in ashes. Now, it is a positive fact, that there was not a single organ or channel by which that malicious fabrication was propagated which did not know then, as well as I know now, that when my houses were burnt, every habitation in the immediate vicinity still stood uninjured ; though those organs and channels were basking in the sunshine of the high patronage above referred to. However, the "Gem in the Desert" was destroyed ; such an opportunity for oft-disappointed revenge was too favourable to be lost. A proclamation in the *Government Gazette* in the

name of the Queen, declaring that destruction a most loyal, patriotic, meritorious service to the Crown, could not have operated as a stronger stimulus to such atrocity than that fabrication propagated under such powerful auspices. A large dwelling-house, I call it without vanity, the centre of hospitality as long as I could afford to keep it such, extensive stabling and mill buildings, with all that they contained, besides a great collection of timber, the property of the two young Englishmen aforesaid, being all they possessed in the world, together worth at least three thousand pounds, were in a few minutes devoted to the flames, and tracts of forests, which I should not willingly have given up for the same amount, shared the same fate. Mark ! this was nearly all that my widow and orphans would have had to rely upon, when my exit shall stop the pension upon which I am mainly dependent after about half a century's public struggle. And by whom was this brutal outrage perpetrated ? I hear you exclaim, "By the enemy, of course !" Aye, by the enemy, indeed ! but what enemy ? Was it perpetrated by the infuriated naked barbarian, Kaffir, or Tambookie ? Was it perpetrated by the desperate, starving rebel Hottentot ? No ; let me tell you—when I landed on the shores of my native land in 1851, on my return from London, where I had been sent by the Colony to promote its interests in a life and death cause, and when I had just heard for the first time that I had been apparently beggared whilst thus engaged in the service of the people so dear to me, a certain confidential gentleman said to me, with well-affected sympathy on one side of his face, and a smile of delight on the other, "I hardly know whether I ought to congratulate you, or condole with you on the destruction of your property." "Congratulate," said I, with the spasm of the electric

fish ! "Yes," said my fellow-mourner, "it will at least put a stop to those wicked insinuations that the savages have spared your property because you were in league with them." Was there ever such an insult offered to any man under the hypocrite's cloak of sympathy ? The answer was immediate : "Tell your master," said I, "that there is not a single Kaffir, not a single Hottentot, not a single Boer, and not twelve Englishmen in all South Africa, who would burn my property. It was done by himself ; not with his own hand, but by those who thought they would please him." I hope and believe that this message was faithfully delivered. I said, of course, only what I suspected ; but I had no doubt of it, and so it was. The "Gem in the Desert" had been denounced. The denunciation had been backed in high quarters. The hint was taken, and the firebrand annihilated the eyesore ; not the firebrand of the retaliating savage taking vengeance for the wars in which I had zealously participated *against* his race ; not the firebrand of the hopeless rebel begrudging me the possession of *his patrimony*, whereon he saw me a tyrant and himself a slave. No ; it was the firebrand of the loyal, civilized, money-making, address-subscribing, white Christian ! He, against whom I had *never* pulled a trigger, whose fatherlands I did not possess ; but *for* whom I had fought, to whom I had *given* land, and in whose prosperity I had been instrumental, not by official favours, for I never thus abused my powers, but by acts of equity, which I might have left undone. "Impossible ! Impossible !" I fancy I hear a generous-souled Attorney-General exclaim. "Impossible," echoes every being with a spark of humanity in his bosom. But stop ! do not let your warm feelings run away with your memory.

Say, was the destruction of the Hertzog Church

impossible? Was the destruction of the Adelaide Church *impossible?* Were not these sacred edifices respected by the "irreclaimable savage" from an obscure conception of the reverence which he believes us to attach to them? and were they not, in spite of your impossibilities, wickedly and wantonly desecrated and spoiled by the élite of our own favourite Christian warriors?

But to return to my own case: I have not given you all. Two rooms attached to the dwelling—one used as a library, and the other for the shelter of the benighted, tired, or hungry friend or traveller—had escaped the conflagration, because they were under slate roofs, but were soon after put fire to by a Government escort under command of a British officer, whose name I suppose figures in the list of promotions, and who is no doubt decorated with the medal, which is to commemorate our military glories in South Africa. You stare, but you have not yet done with this subject; and as I heard my friend Daniel O'Connell, on the green at Glasgow, tell a "bit of a secret" to about seventy thousand people, with a dozen of newspaper reporters present, I have also a bit of a secret to tell you, and it is only strange that your confidential friend, who pointed me out to you as *qualitate qua Sandilli* in London, did not try to earn an additional hundred head of cattle by reporting the *fact*, which I am going to reveal to you, for it is a fact, and might also have graced the *London Gazette*, viz., That the Kaffir Chiefs *did*, when the war broke out in 1850, forbid, under pain of death, the destruction of my property by any of their subjects.

Here was something tangible, which, together with the Gaggabe power of Attorney; the letter from Andries Pretorius; the complaint of Zacharias Pretorius; the

appeal of Andries Botha ; the opinions on the Kok and Dreyer cases, and the resignation of my seat in Council, with other minor delinquencies, might have been easily distilled into something like high treason, which would only require an ultra loyal jury to have given you an opportunity magnanimously to spare my life in order to let the fetter eat into my flesh, whilst by Cathcart Law you could confiscate my lands, and send my wife and children begging, by simply disposing of my pension, as the War Office and my Lords of the Treasury disposed of my half-pay, by the rules of their capricious *intention*. But, say you, "How did you get hold of this secret?" I shall tell you.

When I was compelled to leave my home and property in your service, there were on the estate, besides the two young Englishmen already mentioned, two Irishmen in charge of my stock, and two female members of my family, ready to flee at the least alarm. An irreclaimable savage named "Adam" had charge of an extensive herd of valuable horses. He, like all Kaffirs in the Colony, received the summons of his Chief to come and help in the approaching struggle. The savage, consistently with his wolfish nature of course, as he could easily do with the help of his companions in my service, at once cut the throats of the two ladies, the two Englishmen, and the two Irishmen, set fire to all my buildings, and marched off to Kaffirland with the whole of my stock! "Ungrateful wretch, after all I had done for his race in the many Commandos which I had led into his country. Oh, monster! Wait a bit. This is what he might have done! Who was to prevent him? Now listen to what he did do :—

The Irish overseer one morning, to his surprise, saw the whole stud collected about the homestead. The

herd Adam told him, "Count your horses ; I have received orders from my Chief to join him to fight the English. I must go ; but if there is one of your horses missing I shall stay until I have found it, and brought it to you." The horses were counted and found correct. " Now," said the savage, " here is your musket which you entrusted to me to protect your property. I take nothing from this but the cattle which I have earned." So started Adam mournfully, after taking an affectionate leave of the ladies, especially warning them to get out of harm's way, which they did fast enough.

Well, this same savage Adam happened to return to Maasström on the very day on which I reached it in 1855, to make my final arrangements for leaving the Colony. " Here I am," said he, " with my wife, naked and hungry. The cattle which I got from you were all lost in the war ; I hope you will take me back into your service." I shook hands with the fellow as if I had met a brother ; but turning round, and pointing to the blackened walls and ruins, in the midst of which part of my family were sheltered, said, " You rogue, how dare you show your face on this place after burning these houses ? "

He smiled and replied, " You must ask your *friends* for that. No Kaffirs or Tambookie would have dared to do it, for the Chiefs had declared that they would cut to pieces any man that should injure your property." What better proof can you desire of my having been in league with the enemy, more particularly when I tell you that I am more proud of that demonstration than I should have been of three-fourths of your Frontier addresses, triumphal arches, and illuminations, if I had been the object of them all.

And why did these irreclaimable savages wish to spare my property ? I never spared them when it

became my duty to coerce them—some very good men have considered me too much of a cut-throat ; then why spare me ? Ask your oracle, Sir G. Cathcart. He has drawn a comparison between you and the savage, which explains the mystery.

I have been asked, Why do you not get those men punished ? Indeed ! Can you guarantee to me that I shall get at the real perpetrators—the instigators—by ruining a set of subordinate instruments, who were worked up to a state of frenzy by a system of the most atrocious machinations ? Them I forgive with all my heart ! Vengeance is *not* mine ! Retribution was but too close upon the heels of at least two of the perpetrators, and I fervently hope that it terminated its pursuit in this world.

But what has even the great Cabal itself profited ? Its declared object was utterly to annihilate the “ Dutchman,” who dared to aspire to control “ free-born Englishmen in the exercise of their indefeasible rights.” (Rights to do what ? Are murder, rapine, calumny, and fraud the indefeasible rights of free-born Englishmen ?) I repeat, what has this Cabal profited ? It has succeeded in swindling me out of three thousand pounds by conspiracy, perjury, and subornation of perjury ; it has got me burnt out of double that amount by means equally iniquitous ; it has debarred me from some opportunities of serving my fellow-creatures by the intrigues of its patrons and underhand accomplices, and it may chuckle at the robbery inflicted upon me, amounting (in 1863) to more than three thousand pounds, by a *just* and *generous* Government ; my property by Law, and the vote of the nation, altogether amounting to a handsome Cape fortune, but it has the soul-harrowing mortification, which it cannot conceal, of seeing me

scathless, through every ordeal, looking down with contempt on itself and all the money thus filched ; never having had occasion to blush, or bend before any power on earth, with still enough, thank God ! though only *enough*, to feed and clothe myself and family, physically and mentally.

Yet the braying of this Cabal has been sometimes successfully passed off upon the gullible people of England as Cape public opinion, and the imposition has been more than once sanctioned by the fiat of power, not always itself deceived. This imposture received its most fatal "coup de grâce" (as on many other occasions) by my return as a member of the Legislative Council at the head of the Poll of the Eastern Districts under every possible disadvantage (in spite of every contrivance that the most systematic combination could suggest to impose upon the credulity and prejudices of the ignorant sections of the community), by a majority of nearly two thousand votes over and above the so-called "*most popular*" candidate. Yet the delusion is still attempted to be kept up ; it being at the same time perfectly well understood, that if the Law had not prevented the Western Districts from voting for me, my election would have been much more triumphant. However, as I shall have to revert to this epoch in the course of events, I shall not here enter into further details on this point.

But some stray Cape papers have reached me, in gleaning through which I fancy I saw a piece of genial impudence, which charges me with having received, as Member of Council, certain travelling expenses to which I was not entitled. As far as I am personally concerned, I am aware that I am perfectly safe in adhering to my determination to allow the men who have so long pursued me with their fury to rave and rant to the full

extent of their disappointed malice ; but it being desirable as a public question, that it be known how exactly falsehood keeps pace with, feeds upon, and is fed by that malice, I shall just draw a short account current between the Colonial Exchequer and myself, in connection with the origin and progress of your Parliament.

I need not go farther back than the year 1850, when, as I have already shown, and as is well known, I was, by the urgent will of the Colony, drawn from a happy domestic retreat into a seat in the now defunct Legislative Council. I was thus compelled to quit my home at a crisis, when it would have been infatuation to leave my family at the mercy of Christian and Heathen belligerents, together with my property. There was, consequently, no alternative but to take with me the chief part of that family, leaving the remainder ready to move at a moment's notice ! Who paid me the expenses of that journey and its consequences. The inhabitants, through whose midst I passed, nobly tendered me every assistance that I could desire, but one farthing of compensation I never received, nor thought of asking. I had no snug job of my own to carry through Council ; nor had I jobbers, carrying on my jobs at home, so that the whole expenditure went to the losing side. Thus much for the first item.

When I had withdrawn from the Council, there remained for me only to break up the establishment, which of course I had been obliged to set up for my family, and to travel home again at my own expense. I was preparing to do this, when I was sent for by the Cape Town Municipality, and called upon, in the name of the Colony, to proceed to London as one of its delegates. I have already stated my objections and difficulties, and how they were received and met, and

how I had once more to choose between being held as callous about the interests of my native country and bearding the uncourted, but unfear'd frowns of power, together with the inconveniences and costs of a European voyage. I was forced to keep up the Wynberg establishment for part of my family. I could not send them to the Kaffir war. I had neither a garrison to protect my shop, nor a levy "to grow, defend, eat, and pay for my oats." Who helped me to pay for this establishment, entailed upon me by the public service exclusively? This is the second item.

Then, after travelling 1300 miles to the Frontier and back, in order to place that part of my family which I had left behind out of harm's way, and to meet other minor objects, I proceeded to England. No candid or honest man on the Frontier doubts that if I could have staid upon my estate throughout the war, the mere moral effect of my personal presence would have gathered round me a force sufficient to protect my property against *domestic* incendiaries; and how the *declared* enemies respected it, has already been shown. However, off I went—the public behaved liberally enough. Three hundred pounds were pressed upon me by the Secretary to the Municipality. The trip cost me much more than double that sum. On my return, several of the leaders of the liberal party declared their determination to collect additional contributions, in order to make good the deficit. This I positively resisted. My fellow-delegate, who had spent much more than I had, acted upon the same principle, so that the public never knew of that deficit. Who settled this item No. three?

Well, then, having accomplished the task which I had been charged with, I hoped, of course, when I came once more back to Table Mountain (on the very day when

your constitution was proclaimed) that I should be able to break up my establishment near Cape Town, to take shelter once more under my own peaceful, happy roof, and, by a system of economy in retirement, make good part of the losses which I had suffered. But no! before I stepped on shore I was told my house was in ashes! The details have already been given. I have only to add that this destruction, with the circumstances which will follow (as entailed upon me by my duty to my country), compelled me to keep up the said establishment until I left the country, on the 17th April, 1856.

In 1852 I went home to Maasström, in hopes that I might be able to reconstruct some sort of residence for my family. I soon found that I had not the means to do so, even after selling off a considerable portion of my stock. I had consequently no alternative but to return to my temporary home near Cape Town, as a preliminary move towards some final retreat; but I was not long in discovering that all my arguments against any farther participation in the public affairs of the Cape only tended to confirm my friends in the conviction that my fellow-subjects would not allow me to retire, and that I should be guilty of a great dereliction of moral and political duty if I were, at such a crisis, to refuse to respond to the wishes of the great majority.

The expenses which a continuation of public life was likely to entail upon me first suggested the establishing of the town of Bedford, which I set about on my return to Maasström at the close of 1853. This turned out a very advantageous speculation, and removed many of the difficulties into which I had been plunged, but about which I never troubled the public, nor asked for its help, and about which that public would most likely never

have heard one word, if I had not been placed on the defensive.

My election soon followed, and I travelled down to the Sessions of 1854-5-6, together one thousand nine hundred and fifty miles, and twice back, one thousand three hundred miles—thus, three thousand two hundred and fifty miles, for which I drew from the public treasury, according to a distinct law, one hundred and sixty-two pounds ten shillings ; whereas, besides other contingencies not worth naming, I lost on the journey down in 1855 alone, by the then raging distemper, a whole team of eight horses, of which very likely not one would have perished if they could have been left in the mountains of Swagers Hock. For these eight horses I would not have accepted two hundred pounds when I started from home. Moreover, the three journeys made by me up and down, as above specified, previous to the first Session of Parliament, amounted to three thousand nine hundred miles, for which I never received one farthing ; so there you have seven thousand one hundred and fifty miles gone over (besides the mission to London, for which I received three hundred pounds), not one mile of which I should have had to travel if I had been left in my private retreat ; and, mark above all, that all these journeys and voyages, with their accompanying toil, privations, and mental torture, produced by conflicts sometimes with bad, but, unfortunately, sometimes with good men, were performed in a bad state of health, in all weathers ; for the greatest part of the time separated from my family and domestic comforts ; burthened with an extra household, necessitated by the destruction of several thousands of pounds' worth of my property through my absence on the public service ; and that is what these "*high-minded, honest gentlemen*" (as they are designated by their own

infallible oracle) call my living in Cape Town, and drawing travelling expenses to which I was not entitled.

I see some of those purists suddenly seized with a pious horror of compensation for Parliamentary services, and ready to make the most magnanimous sacrifices. What a pity that the same virtuous abstinence did not influence the Liberal patriots during the scramble for John Bull's five millions in 1835-46-51, so graphically described by Pottinger and Cathcart! Will the public consent to be gulled by this straining at a gnat after the swallowing of camels by the dozen? Woe unto you, hypocrites!

Now I shall only tell these worthies that if they can show one farthing that has ever reached my pockets through a job or trick of any kind, I shall at once admit myself to be like unto themselves, and that must be the greatest triumph that my bitterest enemy can desire. Moreover, be it known to them, for their comfort in the great love which they bear me, that the whole of the sacrifices above detailed were not a dead loss to me; for, in the first place, my children, who had no other schoolmaster at Maasström but myself, were by their flight westward driven into the hands of excellent teachers; and, in the next place, no pecuniary consideration can counterbalance the satisfaction which I derive from the conviction that I have done my best, however little that may have produced, to serve the Cape people; for whatever your Napiers, your Maitlands, your Pottingers, and your Cathcarts may say—and justly say—of certain factions, cliques, or gangs, and I must do them the justice to admit that I firmly believe that they never meant to be as general in their denunciations as they appeared to be—I defy them to point out in the aggregate a more respectable community than that people. I have

shown that from my youth upwards I have received boundless affection from the great body of them ; and if I had at last left them a beggar, I should not have deemed that I had moved one finger too often in their behalf. That is why no one has ever heard me say one word about “sacrifices” ; and *I*, at least, would have left them to the oblivion to which I had consigned them, but for the attempted stab in the back about your paltry £162 10s.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1850-1851.

1850-1851. Further information on state of affairs—John Montagu—Character—Despotism—Letter of 1st July, 1850—On condition of country—Lament wars—Miseries of farmers and others—Enquiry necessary—Farmers on Klaas Smit's River—Tambookies—Boers and Tambookies—Review of past History—Events of 1846, 1847, and 1849—Zacharias Pretorius—Advice to him—Second visit of Z. Pretorius—Advice to him—Disturbances beyond Orange River—Complaints of Kaffirs—Injustice—Oppression—Violation of Treaties—Earlier Historical facts—Distress of Natives—Further Historical facts—Falsehoods unmasked—Falsehoods respecting D'Urban War and Policy—And Glenelg Policy—Andries Botha's complaints—Election to Council—Hostility of Colonial Secretary to popular Members—Resigns—Glen Lynden Church—Commissary Munro—Domineering Trio—Lord John Russell attacks him—Conspiracies against Sir Andries while in England—Public feeling excited against him on Frontier—And in Cape Town—Calumniated in High Quarters—The Queen—Convict agitation—Necessity for change of Government—Work in London—Mr. Adderley, Lord Derby—Parliamentary Committee—Letter to Secretary to Municipality.

SOME further allusion to the last great public service in which the veteran was engaged—the obtaining of a free constitution and Parliament for the land of his birth—must, in justice to his memory, now be made; and as the original manuscript of autobiography of this period consists of notes and memoranda drawn up on various occasions, a selection from these exhibiting the state of public affairs in the Colony, as well as in Downing Street, together with a few Despatches bearing on the same subjects, selected from the weighty mass of literature, which eventually won the triumph over oppression and despotism, will be of use in enabling the reader more clearly and fully to apprehend the difficulties of the struggle. Some of the events

alluded to in the previous chapter will be repeated and enlarged upon. The complete official correspondence between Mr. Fairbairn and Sir A. Stockenstrom, as the Colonial delegates, and Lord Grey and Lord John Russell as Ministers and Secretaries of State, has been fully published in the Imperial Blue Books, where it has become stereotyped Colonial History, requiring no comment in this Memoir, beyond directing attention to it, as the crowning work of the two greatest benefactors that South Africa has ever known.

The history, moreover, of this eventful period is succinctly but very clearly and admirably set forth in Mr. Noble's 'South Africa, Past and Present,' and is therefore within the reach of every one who cares to inform himself on the subject.

Before proceeding, however, to lay before the reader the events of the period (1850), it may be well to mention that Mr. John Montagu was now Secretary to Government, and in the autobiographical notes that functionary is thus spoken of:—

Mr. Montagu was decidedly one of the ablest public functionaries the Colony ever had, and from all I can learn, as a private gentleman, as a father of a family, and as a man of honour, quite unexceptionable ; but he was the very counterpart of Mr. Menzies in the love of despotic power, and in their contempt for the older inhabitants of the Colony, whom they considered to be made to be driven whithersoever they should see fit. Beyond this they resembled each other in nothing else, except their vast abilities, which would have rendered them dangerous instruments of public administration if they could have united ; but, fortunately, they detested each other as cordially as any two aspirants to the same autocracy can do, as the Cape Blue Books show ; so that the friends of liberty and justice could give them battle separately. When Sir H. Smith reached the Cape as Governor, he made them shake hands and promise that they would harmonize in promoting his Government

but as they were both determined to play the first fiddle, and as the master and time-beater understood nothing of any kind of music except swearing and hurrahing, the tune became so discordant that the chorus of the most degenerate Court flatteries could not start the "Equestrian Statue" upon its legs.

Mr. Montagu's hostility to me was perfectly natural. He soon saw my determination to resist his despotism. His love of road-making corresponded with my own; but as I have shown elsewhere, his fulsome flatterers suppressed and made him ignore the labour of Lord C. Somerset and Sir L. Cole in the same field, being with less ostentation of more essential value to the country than all that has been done since with so much bombast, and at an enormous expense, which is known to have been uselessly squandered.

That the despotic Governor and despotic Secretary should fall foul of the champion of civil and religious liberty was to be expected, and we consequently soon find them insinuating treason, and calling him to account. His Despatch of July 1, 1850, addressed to the Secretary, to which allusion has been already made, tells its own story, and will be read with much interest.

"Maaström, July 1, 1850.

"SIR,—I have received your letter of the 11th ultimo, communicating to me, by order of His Excellency, the Governor, the reports of hostile intentions of the farmers on the Klaas Smit's River against certain Tambookies, together with two resolutions passed by the said farmers at a meeting held by them, and stating His Excellency's impression as to what the said resolutions did or did not imply, as also what, under such circumstances, was due to a gentleman of my position in the Colony.

"Whatever construction your said letter may bear,

when taken separately, I owe it to truth to remark that, taken in connection with His Excellency's proceedings in 'other matters, in which the name of a gentleman of my position in the Colony is introduced,' its first effect on my mind was the conviction that I could not, with due respect to myself, take any further notice of it; and on the possibility of 'any communication between the said farmers and myself,' except both such as I hope to answer for to my Maker, my conscience, and the laws of the land, I shall certainly not waste a single argument; but as I expect this correspondence to proceed forthwith to Downing Street, as, therefore, it may come under the notice of the most honourable, patriotic, and just of men, the present Prime Minister of England, and others of the same stamp, who may consider it their duty to bestow some of their solicitude on the fate of millions in Southern Africa, whose prosperity or extermination depends on their wisdom or misrule, and as the transactions to which you allude form an important link in the chain of events, which constitute the calamitous history of this Frontier for many years back, I feel that I am reluctantly compelled to avail myself of the 'opportunity of making many remarks,' which I desire to submit to the Government.

"Every honest man, who has closely watched my career and become intimately acquainted with the bent of my inclinations, may tell the Governor that ever since 1839, when I declined to re-enter the public service under the Colonial Department, the strictest retirement, and the execution of my domestic duties have been the objects of my most anxious pursuit, from which nothing but my loyalty to my sovereign and country, or the defence of truth, has on any one instance been able to make me deviate; but I admit that I have not been

selfish enough in that retirement to view without melancholy sympathy the deeds of blood which have been exhibited around me, and in as much as the farmers or Boers are concerned, I have felt their misfortunes as I should those of my family. Of this most of them are aware. I know their faults, I lament their prejudices. I flatter them not. I court not their cheers, but I know how much they are the victims of their own ignorance, and the dupes of the craft of others ; I know them to be well-disposed, and easily managed under wise and just rule, and would readily give my blood to rescue them from the grasp of folly and injustice.

“Such is the Boer, and such are my feelings towards him ; and whilst I condemn, as I have done, with the utmost severity the excesses to which certain demagogues and deceivers have led some of them, I am bound to declare that, if anything on earth could change one of Her Majesty’s most devoted subjects into a desperate rebel, the proceedings of the Governor in 1848 are calculated to do so, and it is with the most gloomy forebodings that I tremble at the prospect of another Boomplaats exhibition on the Klaas Smit’s River, crowned, perhaps, by another Dreyer tragedy, as the almost inevitable consequences of those proceedings, as I am going to show.

“If the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies had seen fit to promote the enquiry, which I felt it my duty to urge upon him, he would have seen, and if he would be pleased to examine the records of his office for 1835–36–37, and 38, he might still see that the tract of country, now the subject of contention between the Boers and Tambookies, lying between the old Colonial Boundary and the Great, or white Key, was in the possession of the Tambookies when the Kaffir war of 1835

broke out ; that although the Tambookies had taken no part in that war, and had, indeed, more favoured the Colony than the Kaffirs, Sir B. D'Urban annexed to the Colony the said tract of country, together with part of Kaffirland, and that, in consequence of Lord Glenelg's instructions, it was restored to the independent possession of the Tambookies.

"Thus stood matters when the Kaffir war of 1846 broke out ; and when the present Governor arrived at the close of 1847, the Colonists were still limited to the right or western bank of the Klaas Smit's River—mark this, if you please.

"Towards the close of last year 1846, in November, I believe, Mr. Zacharius Pretorius suddenly appeared at this place. I had seen this man once during the war of 1846, as a private individual. He informed me that he had since then been appointed Field-Cornet, and that he had resorted to me for advice and assistance in obtaining from the Governor '*the execution of his own promise, whereby he had given the said Tambookie territory to the farmers.*'

"When I naturally expressed my surprise at such a promise, Pretorius produced a copy of a memorial, which the said farmers had presented to the Governor, the details of which I cannot now give, but which in substance prayed for the *annexation of the said territory*, and the reply to which, *written and signed by the Governor's own hand*, which Pretorius likewise produced, *granted the prayer, subject only to this exception, viz., that the Kaffir Chief Kama and his followers were not to be expelled, because the former was a Christian, and the latter would make good servants for the farmers !*

"Now I leave to the British Government to judge whether, if the Governor *had intended* to set the Boers

and Tambookies at mutual slaughter, he could possibly have hit upon a more effectual contrivance to produce such a result than this 'Reply;' and it is a positive fact that part of the said territory was forthwith measured out for some of the said Boers under the Governor's authority, and, by way of climax, it so happened that the lands thus measured out did not belong to the followers of the Chief Mapassa, who had joined the Kaffirs in the last war, but to those of Umtirara, whom we considered our ally.

"This rendered the Governor prodigiously popular at the time, of course; but what has it brought matters to, and what will it end in? Pretorius, in handing me the said documents, addressed me thus: 'We have been cruelly deceived by these fine words of the Governor. We care not about Kama, let him remain, though the Governor knows that he sooner expects us to save his people than that they should save us; but the Tambookies set us at defiance, all appeal to the authorities is useless, and unless you come to set matters right bloodshed must follow, whereas if you will come and speak one word, both Boers and Tambookies will abide by your decision.'

"My answer was this: 'It is to me indeed surprising that a man in your situation should not know that I have no more authority in public matters than the humblest Boer in the land; that all I could say or do in the question would be null and void, only make me appear ridiculous, and aggravate the evil by exciting jealousies. I have neither the right, nor the power, nor the wish to meddle with the Governor's measures. I disapprove of them entirely, and I believe none of them more dangerous and pernicious than the one which you have now made me acquainted with. I know what must ultimately follow. I have represented to the Secretary of State

the necessity of enquiring into the affairs of this Frontier. I have met with contempt in reply. *If I can do no good, I shall certainly not expose myself to further insult.*

"Pretorius left me much excited, but not before I had made him solemnly promise that he would exert himself to the utmost to prevent violence, and appeal again to the Governor. Hearing nothing more on the subject for six months, I concluded that parties had at least been temporarily satisfied, until about the middle of May, when I had retired into a remote corner of the Zwagers Hoek, and when the said Pretorius arrived there, accompanied by the Field-Cornet Alberts.

"These two men stated that matters had come to such a pitch that they had been driven once more to fly to me in despair for advice and assistance; that, after travelling to near this place some eighty or one hundred miles, and finding I was not at home, they had added seventy miles more to their journey to pray and beseech of me to go with them, and by my personal influence both upon Boers and Tambookies, prevent the collision which was impending. Pretorius again produced the memorial and reply above named, and stated that, according to his promise when he formerly called upon me, he had again appealed to the Governor, who had not even vouchsafed an answer; that the Tambookies had become so audacious as to threaten to drive the Boers even from the lands, which had been measured for them, the Boers, as above stated, saying that they were acting under the authority of the Commissioner Shepstone; that he, Pretorius, had written to the Commissioner, and had received nothing in return but a contemptuous message, and that the Boers were at last in such a state of excitement that he had little hope of restraining them much longer.

“ Pretorius and Alberts both stated that the robberies in their districts were incessant and unbearable, in spite of the assurance throughout the Colony that all is peace and success on the Frontier. My answer was literally that which I had given Pretorius six months earlier ; and when these two men were preparing to depart, disappointed, dejected, and irritated, they positively asked me whether I had no advice to give them in such an emergency. I said, ‘ Yes ! I advise you to use every exertion to maintain peace ; and as in all your discussions with me you have professed your unqualified loyalty towards the Queen, and submission to the laws, let these feelings be evinced in all your words and acts, and with these principles steadily before you, maintain your rights as men and as British subjects. Avoid all underhanded agitation and intrigue ; shun all address-mongers who coax you to sign what you do not understand, and thus often make you unwittingly compliment and flatter the powerful on subjects which grieve you most. Then do as Englishmen do—meet openly and boldly, as you have a right to do by law, discuss your public interests, take down the general sense in your own unsophisticated Boer language, send it to some newspaper, and to such a man as Mr. Advocate Brand, who is your countryman and a lawyer and politician of experience, who may forward your cases with the Government here, and, if necessary, in England ; but take care whilst you seek justice, that you desire not to do injustice to others.’ ”

“ Pretorius and Alberts expressed their assent to these sentiments, adding, however, that they knew not Mr. Brand, but would look to me, when I closed the discussion by saying, ‘ The voice of the people will soon be heard in this Colony, and if by that voice I be called from my retreat, I shall feel bound to waste whatever

strength I have left in the service of my country, but interfere in the present squabble between you, the Government, and the Tambookies I cannot.' Thus departed these two men, and I have not heard one syllable from them since, nor of or about them until I received your letter.

"I have preferred prolixity to the omission of anything that passed. I am well aware how convenient it would be for certain parties to trace these Tambookie disturbances to some Glenelg or Stockenstrom system, or interference, or to the Boers exclusively ; but for once, at least, they shall not succeed. The cause is palpable. There is the Governor's fiat, written in a plain round hand, independent of any system on earth but his own, and capable of no other construction to the Boer but this, viz., *provided you do not molest the Christian Kama, you may expel the heathen Tambookies as fast as you please ; and in order that there may be no mistake as to the meaning of this document, the Surveyor shall forthwith measure out for you part of the land of those heathen.* That the Boers should act up to this view of the matter is natural enough, and that the Tambookies should resist is not less so. Hence the conflict, and it is supererogatory to search deeper for the solution.

"Here we have on the North-East one part of the present Frontier system working to admiration, whilst on the North we have, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, just removed rebellion 'from the further bank of the Orange River' to that of the Vaal River, and rendered all parties more discontented than ever ; and how is it in the East ? All perfection, of course. But having been led to the discussion of these matters, I do not think that I have the right of withholding from the Government the fact that I have, within the last twelve

months, been visited by at least half-a-dozen of Kaffir deputations, with the most doleful prayers that I might intercede, *so as to bring about the peace, which the Governor promised, and for which the Chiefs kissed his foot, as the nation is tired of all the war*, and that all my explanations that I had nothing to do with the matter having failed in ridding me of these painful intrusions, I was only able to put a stop to them by refusing either to see the messengers, or to give them a mouthful to eat.

“We have all of us certain duties to perform to society ; however humble mine may be, my peace of mind depends upon their accomplishment. Much will I be startled from my course by some stupid sneer about my ‘ambition.’ My aim is beyond the caprice of man. Truth and justice alone are omnipotent. To be *their* faithful slave would be my pride, my ambition !

“I tell the Government, therefore, once more, that by injustice and oppression, by the violation of treaties and the abuse of superior knowledge granted by Heaven for better ends, we have half-ruined ourselves and completely ruined a nation. I have in my own service men whom not long since I knew as opulent farmers. One, indeed, who sat in Council with me, when I represented British Majesty, now reduced to labour for me, naked and hungry for the crumbs which fall from my table, or rather for what I choose to give them ; and to whose physical condition, therefore, slavery itself would be an improvement. Of these there are thousands, brooding over their misfortunes, and looking, as we have just seen, upon our happy peace and gloriously working system *as a state of war of which they are tired* ; and although we may by the bayonet and the cat, and by trying like good Christians to identify these with the Bible—with the Gospel of Charity and Mercy—succeed for a time in

keeping up the appearance of tranquillity, as was done on the Klaas Smit's River, we may be certain that unless human nature can be changed as well as degraded by foot kissing, a fearful reaction must as naturally succeed as the night the day.

"It is therefore only fair and honest, especially to the next Governor of this Colony, that the true state of affairs be thoroughly unmasked, in order to guard against a repetition of that fraud upon the public credulity and insult to common sense whereby the inevitable fruits of the present operations would be traced to his blunders, and to the withdrawal of his predecessor.

"That such precaution is not visionary I shall show by a brief rehearsal of what must still be fresh in the memory of every man acquainted with the recent history of this Colony. It was long generally believed, and still is credited by some few, that during the war of 1835 we slaughtered *four thousand Kaffir warriors*, and so completely crushed the enemy that he called for *mercy, mercy, peace, peace*, which we granted; that upon this the Governor, Sir B. D'Urban, established a Frontier system, which was so successfully worked by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Sir Harry) Smith as to restore tranquillity to the country, and give perfect satisfaction to all parties, including Colonists as well as Kaffirs; that this happy state of affairs was destroyed by the reversal of the said system *by order of the Colonial Minister*, and the introduction of the so-called 'Glenelg Policy,' which produced general discontent on both sides of the Frontier, led to the emigration of the Boers beyond the Orange River, and resulted in all the calamities which have since both disgraced and half-ruined South Africa.

"So deeply rooted became the faith inspired by the above allegations, that the idea of the condition which

Lieutenant-Colonel Smith had created, and left behind on the Frontier, produced an irregular vote of the local legislature in his favour of a considerable sum of the public money, as well as a long protracted species of idolatry towards himself and his chief. Every man who dared to dissent from an implicit reliance on the above creed, became, together with the Supreme Government and some of the most virtuous men in the Kingdom, the objects of the most virulent denunciations and libellous personalities in points under high auspices; even respectable publications in the mother-country, though incapable of stooping to the local vulgar scurrilities, contributed for a time to give currency to the fallacies, which were sometimes reiterated even in Parliament, and remained uncontradicted through the ignorance or apathy of those who ought to have known better; and if I am not misinformed, there is a Despatch in print whereby the present Colonial Minister shows his perfect knowledge of the affairs of the Colony by *taunting Sir H. Pottinger with the facility or rapidity* with which Sir B. D'Urban had brought the Kaffir war to a satisfactory issue in 1835.

“Now, what are the facts? So far from *four thousand Kaffir* warriors having fallen in the war of 1835, we fortunately did not kill one-half of *four hundred*, including even the unhappy wretch whose ears we cut off and salted! so far from the Kaffirs being crushed and calling out for mercy and peace, we had to send our officers into the bush, at the peril of their lives, to sue for peace from the Kaffir Chiefs, who were so thoroughly convinced that they had the best of the conflict, that they laughed to scorn our demand of the restoration of the Colonial property which they had taken, whereon we did not dare to insist; farther, although we had made it a positive

stipulation that all the firearms in Kaffirland should be delivered up to us before the Treaty of Peace should be ratified, the Kaffirs set us at defiance ; and although Sir B. D'Urban had issued a peremptory order that the ratification should not take place before the fulfilment of the stipulations, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith was so embarrassed with the question that he was too glad to ratify the Treaty, and left the Kaffir nation better armed than it had been since its creation.

“So far was the D'Urban system from being satisfactorily worked, or being reversed by order of Lord Glenelg, that *Sir B. D'Urban himself, with his own hand, gave it the death-blow, and rendered it a mere self-evident impossibility* by revoking martial law, which Lieutenant-Colonel Smith himself knew and declared to be the foundation upon which the whole fabric rested. So far was any party whatever, except such as had profited by the war, and hoped to profit more, from being satisfied that the Kaffirs were organising a regular plan for the renewal of the war—which was only prevented by the reversal of the said system—the Boers, who had begun to emigrate by families long before they heard the names Glenelg, D'Urban, or Smith, now began to leave in crowds before they could dream of any Glenelg Policy, previously irritated at, and openly denouncing the conduct of the war, the terms of peace, and the state of insecurity existing under *the* system ; the auxiliary or provisional troops left to defend the Frontier were in a state bordering on open mutiny, and even the officer in command of the forces after the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith complained of the unsafe posture of affairs. ‘*Satisfactory issue, indeed !*’ These, sir, are the remarks which I desire to submit to the Government upon the Governor's suggestion as contained in your letter.

"How the Glenelg Policy continued in operation till 1840—how the Treaties then substituted were violated by us in 1844—how we went to war in 1846, and what we have been doing since, would be here supererogatory matter; and I have only to add, that if Her Majesty's Ministers should see cause to be sceptical on any one fact stated in this tedious document, they have nothing more to do than to obtain a Parliamentary Committee, or appoint a Royal Commission, either of which I shall be glad to meet; but if such solemn and public investigation shall be deemed unnecessary or too expensive, I trust that the manner in which I have so repeatedly been harassed on matters like the above, without being in any way connected with the Government, may be taken into consideration, and that I may be excused any farther similar references which can by possibility be avoided.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "A. STOCKENSTROM."

will be here after
 A few days after penning this Despatch, poor Andries Botha having visited Maasström, and poured out the complaints of himself and fellow-sufferers in the Kat River, Sir Andries again addressed the Secretary to Government on the condition of that settlement in a letter, dated July 11, 1850, which ~~has been already published~~ in the chapter on the Kat River, and serves to complete the lamentable picture of the state into which misrule and tyranny had brought all classes of the community. Returning now to the autobiography, the record resumes with the words:—

Finally came the climax of the administration under review, on which I shall be brief, because it is recent and full before the public. A constitution was to be framed, and five vacancies of a nominee Council to be filled up. I was unfortunately one of the elect, and forthwith found myself in hot water. The violation of the pledge by the

selection of the eleventh instead of the fifth on the poll I got over with a protest ; but when, besides the framing of the constitution, for which alone I was sent, I saw an attempt to twist me into an ordinary member of Council for all sort of Government work and taxation, like my three elected colleagues, I resisted.

We of course had the Governor and his Ministry dead against us. The Attorney-General, in spite of his natural benevolence was, as in duty bound, very severe ; but though there is no beating him in language, the Town House was quite equal with the official in acrimonious retort. The Auditor-General, whom, like the former, I not only honoured as a man, but also loved as a friend, never went beyond a strict course of duty, and never withdrew his cordiality from me. The Collector of Customs, equal to either of the two former in high principle and integrity, was for a time one of those who believed it blasphemy to doubt the infallibility of Smith and Montagu, and an official coldness having sprung up, it crept into our private intercourse, and was, I am sorry to say, never got over. He died overworked, and, like poor Hare, overwhelmed by scribblers, whom they ought not to have deemed worthy the dust of their shoes. He was one of the ablest and most useful public functionaries the Colony ever had.

There then remains the Ministerial leader, from whom I expected no quarter, as I intended to give none. He had, whilst the elections were going on, told his chief, "You stand so far committed that if five Malays be returned, you must give them the seats ;" but when the crisis came and the breach of faith was actually perpetrated, he showed his spite against the successful candidates in every way that vent could be found.

His feeling against me was aggravated by, in addition

to other causes, a very unmitigated retort, which I had felt bound to apply *indirectly*, but officially, to a most rude, discourteous letter, written by the Colonial Office to the weak, defenceless Minister of Glen Lynden about the Church lands, in which I was interested, and a similar but direct correspondence about the claim of a Commissary Munro, who had served under me.

These matters are only named to refer the searcher into the history of the Colony to the easily connectible sources where the spirit of those times may be studied, and with this view there cannot be a more interesting picture than to see the same Ministry—once so necessarily hostile to the four seceding members, as soon as a new sort of legislature was fabricated—splitting up among themselves, and three of them literally speechifying the fourth (who had calculated upon their continued adhesion and submission) out of the Colony, to which he never returned. He would have been a perfect ruler, where every other spring of action but subserviency was impossible. The Governor also went, and the great man who dismissed him soon shared the same fate. So there was an end to the mighty four that had played shuttlecock with the Colony since 1848.

I freely admit that when I was thus once more dragged into public matters I considered it one of my most sacred duties to the Colony to exert my humble power to put an end to the domineering of the trio, Lord Grey, Sir H. Smith, and Mr. Montagu. There was, however, no underhand work or intrigue. Everything I did or said was in public and in print. This is, I believe, what Lord J. Russell called “stirring up the people against the Government.” The charge comes with peculiar grace and propriety from Lord John! I chiefly relied upon *his* support in this matter of the constitution, as his

speeches on the subject had always been of the most liberal character. There are few men whom I place on a level with him as a statesman, and there are strong reasons why I should feel warmly attached to him as a leader; but the same reasons ought to make him the most guarded how he throws filth that may fall back on himself.

As Lady Esther Stanhope said of "spitting at the sun in the zenith," stirring up the people against the Government has been the chief business of his life. Whenever he was in Opposition he hardly did anything else, and could not have done one-tenth part of the good which he did do but for the help of the people whom he did so stir up. Take his last election for the City. Did he not then stir up all England against his present colleague and chief, particularly on the China question? did he not, when he got into the House, try to stir up the Parliament and the people on the same subject, and others, against the same Chief, until he became his colleague, and took the lead in the very matters which he had denounced, and every subsequent step of which has overwhelmed with a thrill of horror all who do not expect to become millionaires by digging into the new mines of tea and silk, blood and poison?

Thus if I have stirred up the people, the difference between Lord J. Russell and myself consists in his want of *disinterestedness*, for *whilst*, besides his patriotic sense of duty, he was also struggling for power, office, and an earldom, I had nothing to get or ask except justice to the community which had elected me, and whose confidence I had enjoyed through life, as that of brothers and of children. It is at once amusing and humiliating to see so great a man, with half the world upon his shoulders, condescend to listen to the dirty gossip and

tittle-tattle of a miserable Colonial plot against one who he knows has done his duty, and will not be browbeaten. And as for stirring up the people against Lord Grey—the undignified squabble between him and Lord J. Russell, which appeared in the *Times* in 1860, shows what service would have been rendered to the Russell Ministry if he (Lord Grey) could have been stirred out of it a little sooner—that is, soon after he so discourteously dismissed Sir H. Smith, whom he expected me to kneel to, presuming to lecture me on what was proper or improper in my correspondence.

But what will be said of the moral sense of the self-constituted public censor, who, being in Sir H. Smith's confidence, as his factotum, therefore knowing that Colonel Somerset was expressly appointed to keep me out, continued hammering at the text of my not taking the field being caused by my sympathies with the enemy, and of *my house standing alone like a gem in the desert*, whilst the whole country was in ashes, until some white Christian patriots (two or three of whom might have exhibited a sense of *gratitude* by fighting *in defence* of my home) reduced many thousand pounds to a heap of ruins which, up to this moment, I have not had the means to reconstruct, proving at the same time the infamy of the original stimulant, from the dastard atrocity of which the savage shrank with shame, by finding Pedlars, Niekerks, and Ainslies unscathed? Now be it remembered that this outrage was committed at the moment when I was struggling for the rights of these Christian marauders themselves.

In the Western Province the lowest and most cowardly assassin that could be found, *pen in hand*, was hired to throw out insinuations against my loyalty in a filthy caldron, which was said to be kept hot by high hands;

but these insinuations were so stupid as to create only a horse-laugh among the very scum that was supposed brutal enough to enjoy them.

Was or was not the tragedy that appalled the public of Cape Town, three days after the parting speech of the worthy Baronet in the Town House, and his embarkation on his mission to London, as was freely reported and fully believed at the time, the finale of this black conspiracy?

I was aware that I had been treacherously calumniated to the Premier, as well as to the Colonial Minister. My admiration and respect for the former were well known; and no feeling galled me more in the whole affair than the idea of a possibility of causing the least vexation to that exalted personage, and I should gladly have made any sacrifice to avoid such a chance, *that was not inconsistent with my duty to my constituents*. He has just been promoted by the most excellent of queens to a high degree in the Peerage. Her gracious Majesty certainly did not couple with that boon the condition that the new earl should lay at her feet his conscience, his principles, and his independence, to be trampled upon even by herself, much less by Lord Palmerston, or any other friend or rival in power. On the contrary, her well-known patriotism and generosity would stimulate a hope that the nobleman, so highly and so justly favoured, would redouble, if possible, his zeal in behalf of the rights and prosperity of her subjects, in defiance of any power under heaven.

So in my humble case, so far below that of a Premier or Foreign Minister, Her Majesty, when, with her irresistible sense of justice and goodness, she conferred upon me a token of her favour and approbation, never dreamt of the possibility that the noble reward, earned by

admitted services to the Crown through my countrymen, now her subjects, would weaken my feelings of duty towards that Crown and those countrymen, or yield up the defence of the interests entrusted to me, and so dear to me, to the fear of exciting the ire or scowl of any despot in power. Lord Grey I believe to be, as a private individual, a gentleman and nobleman in every respect unexceptional, for I know nothing to the contrary ; but as a statesman, as a ruler, and particularly as a ruler of Colonies, I have not the least confidence in him. It is needless here again to rake up the convict question and others in which the Cape was concerned, as enough has been said ; but I shall only briefly revert to some points which, perhaps, have not been sufficiently explained.

The points here entered upon by Sir Andries relate to the Frontier Policy from the earliest days, which having been fully explained throughout this work, requires no further amplification, especially as it would take the reader away from the period to which special attention is being directed. The autobiography then proceeds :—

With such sentiments, and under the circumstances in which I was placed, I need hardly say that I became the more confirmed in my opinion of the necessity of a complete change of Government at the Cape, and of the immediate introduction of the promised but retarded constitution. Our correspondence with the Government, the debate in the House of Lords, Lord J. Russell's speeches in the Commons, and the final results are all in print, and therefore need not be repeated. We found in London a "Colonial Reform Society," which was evidently destined soon to tumble to pieces, being composed of High Tories, Ultra Radicals, and every degree of intermediate Whigism.

To Mr. Adderley we were deeply indebted for his cordial assistance and kind sympathy. But Lord Derby, in bringing our cause before the Lords, cared little about the Colony beyond its being for the nonce a good handle against his friend Lord Grey. It was clear that we were sitting down between two stools, but the debate was of service in so far that it showed Ministers that it was not safe longer to withhold the constitution. Before we returned to the Colony we were called before a Parliamentary Committee, the records of which are found in a thick Blue Book ; but the proceedings under the auspices of the Under Secretary were not likely to dive deep into the truth. A letter of mine, which appears as addressed to the Chairman, Mr. Labouchere, exposes a flagrant mutilation of a letter of Sir G. Napier, which had become evidence, and for which mutilation the Colonial Office remains responsible ; for although it was attempted to throw the blame on a clerk, this clerk was never even produced before the Committee or dismissed.

The following Despatch, addressed by Sir Andries to the Secretary to the Cape Town Municipality, and which is not to be found in the official Blue Books, will suffice to place the picture of the *Times* fully before the gaze of the reader. It is dated—

“London, September 13, 1851.

“DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31 July, per *Hellespont*, the contents whereof I have of course communicated to my colleague, Mr. Fairbairn, who is still here, we having both deemed it expedient to remain as long as possible, to watch whether it would transpire what course Lord Grey would pursue after the debate in the House of Lords on the

15th July last. I should, indeed, consider it my duty to wait for next session, but after an excursion through the interior for change of air and scene, I feel satisfied that I should not live through the winter in this climate, and have taken my passage in the *Harbinger*, as my colleague has done.

“The awful derelictions of principle which are revealed by the Blue Books to which you refer are truly humiliating, not only to the public service, but to our species ; but the revelations are not without utility, as they unmask to the Colony the system, the character whereof was heretofore only partially understood, though of late it became by degrees so strongly developed.

“To Mr. Fairbairn and myself the most satisfactory part of your communication is (as it will be to all the friends of the Cape in this country) the assurance which it gives us, that our fellow-Colonists will confine themselves strictly to legal and constitutional weapons in the struggle against a system which their enemies, in their reckless faith, in their all-crushing influence in Downing Street, have at last laid bare. We rejoice to see that the Cape people feel that their main strength lies in their dependence on this country ; that, by being true to the Queen and true to the British nation, they are true to themselves, and can never long have to bow under the tramp of the tyrant’s heel ; violence, now particularly, would be utter ruin.

“Your Council was smashed on the 20th September, for fear of the *elective* upper chamber and other liberal provisions of the Queen’s letters patent becoming the law of the land *before there should be time* ‘for Conservative’ reaction (Conservatism at the Cape meaning:—1st. Patronage in the Colonial Office ; 2nd. A nominee or aristocratic House of Lords ; and 3rd. A perpetual Civil

List), and if you afford such Conservatives the appearance even of a proof that you do not understand the power of *orderly* and *peaceable* resistance to arbitrary abuse of power, it will soon be attempted to impose on this nation that the 'additional instructions of the 13th May,' with the dragoon spurs of the four officials, are the only furniture with which you are fit to be ridden. You have now done, or at least are doing, your duty, and may defy the despot. Sir F. Kelly and Messrs. Walpole and Benyon have panic struck him on the one side, and the Queen, her Ministers and Parliament stand pledged on the other, that the Cape *must without the least delay* have a constitution *at least* as liberal as that granted by letters patent of 1850. Neither the four, nor the six, nor the eight can prevent this, and some of them would not, I believe, if they could.

"I only regret that, as I foretold when I left you, I have been able to contribute but little to this consummation, but I retire from the charge with which I have been entrusted, whether back to my retreat or to my grave, with the consolation of having done my best; and I thank God for the success of others. But allow me to repeat *violence may ruin all the fruits of your victory*. The Hottentots have proved this. Their best friends cannot sympathise with the rebellious portion in their present proceedings, and whatever may be the nature of their cause, utter destruction must ultimately be their lot.

"On the other hand, let there be no slackening of vigilance, no false security, and, above all, no giving way to intimidation. Humble as I may be considered by our rulers, and however much I should have rejoiced if it had been my fate to be allowed to linger through my few remaining sickly years in domestic bliss, it was a serious mistake in Lord Grey and your Governor to

calculate that, being dragged into a public and responsible position, I could, by their frowns and insinuations about my pension, be browbeaten into betraying the cause of the country which pays me that pension, and has besides a claim to my every breath, every drop of my blood. I defy them to a public scrutiny of the bases of public emoluments, and theirs, as well as those of their favourites ; but I am not writing about myself. I mention this merely to show that this is not the time for any man to allow either pension or self and pelf of any kind to stand in the light of truth. The hour has come when it must be decided whether we are to be ruled as a free people under a constitutional system, or as Russian serfs under a pure despotism, or, what is worse, a tyranny under the mask of mock checks.

“ The language of circumlocution or compliment would in such an hour be out of place ; but I hope, at the same time, that I shall not fall into the libellous and scurrilous eloquence with which I and my ‘ party,’ as my countrymen are sneeringly called, have been assailed. I say this, the hour has come when it must be decided whether the reign of *patronage* and *favouritism* shall continue, or the reign of *truth* and *justice* be substituted. Long before public duty compelled me to declare it openly, those who know my private sentiments were aware that I considered the whole fabric of our Colonial system leprous to the marrow from *patronage* and *favouritism*, which are at the root of every one of our diseases. It pervades the whole body, beginning at the head.

“ A Crown Minister takes a fancy to a pet functionary who may have answered some special purpose in some distant land. At once the functionary becomes the beloved pet of the great man, who, instead of bestowing

upon his favourite a share of his private property, as he had a right to do, finds it more convenient to make him a present of one of the Colonies, for him as a football to amuse himself and his friends with, or rather as a sponge-cake to slice off amongst his sons and hangers-on. From that instant the devoted Colony becomes, as it were, a private estate ; a belt of sycophants, flatterers, and dependents is soon formed round the great centre of bounty ; some rags of favour emitted by the great luminary reflect from hundreds of satellites which become foci of lesser vortices of corruption, the disappointed become discontented, murmurs are reported and exaggerated, a system of espionage creeps in, fear seizes upon the weak, its progeny, falsehood and slander, tears society into factions, and *secret and under-hand correspondence keeps up at headquarters the prestige of the prowess of the mighty conjurer until some tremendous crash extort a Blue Book, which, whilst it betrays only a fraction of the cloven foot, gives the astounded public an idea of the hideous mass which remains concealed.*

“ If any man, who dares say what he thinks, will tell me that the above is not a true picture of one branch of Colonial administration, let him look to our own poor, helpless community, to the relative positions of our Christian characters, to the road boards and their taxes and their jobs, to the premature waste of our public resources, to a Colonial office, strong and costly enough to do the work of the whole North American union, look to the distribution of the patronage therein, to the patronage and nepotism everywhere in fact. Take the case of the Auditor-General, which, whilst it secured to the Colony a most honourable and able man, still did galling injustice in passing over a veteran of half a

century's unimpeachable service in the Colony ; then see his successor (against whom I have never heard a whisper) ushered fresh into a sinecure, whilst many hoary candidates are half starving. Shudder at the case of Brand and the judgeship. Mark Du Toit and the Commissionership of Uitenhage, or Cole, and that of Swellendam ; then comes the son of the Chief Justice sent as Clerk of the Peace to Uitenhage ; look for his name on the examined list, and compare his claims to those of other candidates ; next glance at the Korsten case at Stellenbosch, proceed to review the Colonial Aide-de-Camp, the Private Secretary, additional Surveyor-General and additional Engineer.

But when shall we end ? This is enough for my purpose here. Let us turn to another branch and ask, Did not the settlers of 1820 show to the Commissioners of Enquiry, more than a quarter of a century since, and did not Governor Sir Rufane Donkin and Colonial Secretary Colonel Bird confirm, how patronage and favouritism could contrive the treacherous seizure of the Kaffir King by military force in the dead of the night, in a time of profound peace, without even a pretext of provocation, in order to create cause for a demonstration, when fields of glory were scarce and promotion was slack ? And yet we pretend to be groping for the causes of Kaffir wars amongst missionaries, anti-convict associations, demagogues, and republicans. The Bishop of Cape Town surely is no *radical*. He has just published a book ; will anybody go beyond that volume to look for such causes ? Show me one single benefit that has resulted from any Kaffir war to any one man beyond the patronised and favoured few ! The best and bravest troops in the world are harassed to death, knowing and seeing that they can do nothing ; but Despatches and

orders record glories innumerable to which the bystanders were blind, and promotions follow as if every cow taken had cost us a Waterloo ; but these advantages limit the benefit except to those who can get a finger in the pie, that is, in the hundreds of thousands which the British Exchequer is fleeced of.

“In the meantime the enemy is ruined, and the Colonists are ruined, and, after saving the Colony, are insulted, maltreated, and slandered. Such at least was the sequel of the war of 1846, which, with the exception of the Burns Hill ‘chastisement,’ was almost an exact copy of that of 1835. And of the latter I have had occasion to say so much of late, that I can here pass it over with this brief notice. By-the-by, let us not forget that, besides the above advantages of the war of 1846, it brought five hundred pounds per annum additional salary into the pocket of the Secretary to Government, for keeping himself very comfortable at home, whilst a poor Commissariat Clerk was denied twenty-one pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence for *foolishly* living some three months in the rain, mud, and wind to guard Her Majesty’s stores, with a constant chance of having his throat cut. Have patronage and favouritism nothing to do with all this? Nor with the non-auditing of the accounts of that precious war?

“Why are those accounts not audited? The House of Commons looks out for them audited annually, whilst they lie at the Cape in heaps untouched. Sir H. Pottinger publicly spoke of the most iniquitous jobbing and corruption, and boldly said that there was reason to believe that men in high stations had been partakers in the peculation. One honourable man was broadly alluded to by name. He indignantly gave the accuser the lie, and disproved the charge. He was neither

patronized nor *favoured*. We surely are not leaving these accounts unaudited for fear of Sir H. Pottinger's blows hitting more truly in quarters more patronised and more favoured? An unfortunate levy captain fell a victim.

"Can Sir H. Pottinger give an estimate of the number that ought to have accompanied him to the Zuurberg? I do not say that the Secretary to Government may not be all this while auditing those accounts. If so, I hope that he will include those of 1835. This is very likely, for I defy any solver of mysteries to say for what else on earth the extra five hundred pounds per annum can have been given; or will this nation, this *reform Parliament*, allow this tremendous job to be swamped in oblivion? Here they talk of £1,100,000, and never trouble their heads about the losses of the farmers—once opulent families—fatherless, homeless, naked, and hungry!

"No! Lord Grey has given his friend five hundred pounds extra per annum, the Horse Guards can take care of the military, the contractors will look after our Commissary General, and as for the Boer, he may begin life once more, fight once more, get libelled once more, and at last 'trek.' We shall soon send sergeants and corporals after him to organise the blacks against him, and leave him rest nowhere.

"What single benefit, I repeat, have *the Colonists* derived from any Kaffir war? Land, indeed! We lately sold the Chumie by public auction. Who purchased it? and how much did they give? To them it will prove an enormously rich bargain, after it shall be *soaked in blood and sown with English sovereigns*. But what good will it do the Colonists? They have to forsake their own homes and families to come and stand sentinel over it.

I told you that for each thousand pounds you should get for that land, England would have to spend hundreds of thousands to defend it. Lord Grey dared to call my warnings ‘most improper.’ But where does the British tax-payer see impropriety now? In his neglect of duty, or in my truth? He was told *from his first coming into his present office* of the dangers that must follow our proceedings. He affected to condemn the information, refused open enquiry, on the plea that it would be injurious to the public interests, but allowed *secret, underhand* inquiries to be concocted at the Cape and sent to him.

“(There is a system for you.) A Parliamentary ‘Kaffir Committee’ sat here lately. I supposed, of course, that *there* I should be able to drag forth these hidden mysteries ; but in vain, as you will see by my letter to the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 13 ultimo. My last evidence was never sent to me for corrections, which is otherwise never omitted ; so that it may be a precious jumble, and up to this moment the proceedings and report of the Committee are withheld from the public, else I should have sent you a copy. If truth be the object, why is not the most determined, searching investigation instituted both here and in the Colony? I should have most decidedly objected to any person connected with the Cape being member of the Commission of Enquiry there ; but my objection vanished as soon as I saw three out of the four names of those who were lately appointed, and I was glad to hear that the fourth, whom I do not know, was a man of equal honour and probity ! I find, however, this Commission is cancelled, and what has been substituted ?

“Such, then, is the actual position of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Morally and politically never

was there a country before in such a state, and how long shall this be allowed to last? Are we bonâ fide the private property, the plaything of some *half-dozen*, to be given and taken, kicked and cuffed at pleasure? And when we complain that it hurts us, to be told that we are impudent, impertinent, mutinous, rebellious, traitorous, for not liking the gentle strokes of such kind masters. Now the truth must out! This sort of kindness will no longer do! The whole system must be got rid of, root and branch! We are not the property of these men. They see that we will and shall be emancipated. Their fury has no bounds! But their insults and libels need not trouble us. We ask nothing more than justice, and shall have it. As far as I am personally concerned, they know that their low abuse has always had my most sovereign contempt. I have never provoked their anger, but would not move a finger to turn their envy and malice.

“In Cape Town it was publicly stated that the slander and calumny sent forth against my countrymen was concocted under the auspices of high officials. Since then the original of one of the most brutal attacks upon myself has been seen in the handwriting of the unfortunate confidential scribe of one of those high officials who has since destroyed himself. Be this as it may, the matter is too infamous to dwell on; I must therefore cut it short by declaring that I hold any man who may have in the remotest degree countenanced any of those attacks, if he were the first man in the realm, to be capable of any act of baseness; but I shall give him a fair chance by adding, that I shall be prepared to make the most ample apology for uttering this sentiment as soon as the *remotest* shadow of a proof shall be offered for any of these dastard insinuations, inuendoes, or

charges so wickedly put forth, or for any the most trifling dereliction of duty during my long public career. This is giving wide scope, but the whole fraternity know, after years of intrigue and collusions, that they cannot adduce an iota without wading through their genial element of falsehood. Hence the bitterness of their rancour, to the full enjoyment whereof I leave them, as the cause of the Colony is too important to be impeded by listening to such creatures.

“The account now received with reference to the Frontier war has added to our grief and consternation, as there must still be some feeling left in Downing Street : the Colonial Minister must find himself cruelly galled and humbled by the fruit of his five years’ reign. I enclose copy of a letter which I felt it my duty to write to Lord John Russell even a *month ago* (August 16), and what will it be now ? I regret that I have no time to prepare a copy of the inclosure on the Glen Lynden case Lord Grey was so much in love with the ‘Remarkable Pamphlet,’ that I conclude he and his party will relish my quotation as well as any other part.

“Of my old Graaff Reinets I am truly proud. The ‘disaffected,’ ‘disloyal,’ ‘bloodthirsty’ men of that District, calling on the Magistrate to take down a flag which echoed the mandate for ‘extermination’ of a philanthropic Governor, will add some days to my existence. The sovereignty Boers refusing to join in what they deemed an unjust attack, but loyally speeding to the rescue of Her Majesty’s arms when perilled, is another source of delight ; and the conduct and success of my friend Joubert and others give me as much pleasure as they must have tortured those who hoped that their defamatory denunciations against the Dutch farmers would prove true to the letter. Nor am I without hope

of seeing these haters of the Dutchman altogether powerless.

“Setting aside the miserable factions and its hangers-on, who are few though noisy, we, the remainder, English and Dutch, do in reality not hate, though we sometimes misunderstand each other. We, the great body, know that we are the same people with the same interests, and we shall yet, I hope, with God’s help, all conspire, first to establish liberty and order by means of one Parliament, and then agree to ‘*separate*’ in love and concord, or to remain united, as the majority shall deem best for the happiness of the whole.

“I remain,

“My dear Sir,

“Yours very truly,

(Signed) “A. STOCKENSTROM.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

History of Kat River Settlement—Division of Stockenstrom.

THE Kat River Settlement has been but cursorily alluded to hitherto, but any narrative of the life of Sir A. Stockenstrom which did not give something like a full account of its origin and progress would be very defective, and it is therefore proposed to devote this chapter to that object.

In the earliest days of his administration of the Graaff Reinet District, he had viewed with intense concern and commiseration the wretched, outcast condition of the Hottentots and Bushmen, and had used his endeavours to rescue them from their forlorn, degraded state. The remnants of the Bushmen, however, gradually betook themselves to the wilds north of the Orange River, where they fell a prey to the savage brutalities of the Griquas. To collect, however, the remnants of the Hottentot race, to save them from extirpation, to civilise and Christianise them, was one of the many efforts which the illustrious statesman made in the grand purpose to which his whole life, from the cradle to the grave, was devoted, viz., the true and lasting welfare of his fellow-men of whatever nationality.

We have seen the impression which was left on his mind by his presence at interviews between Colonel Collins, his father, Van der Kemp, Read, and others, and how true he was to the principles with which these excellent men inspired him. How, as he rose from one office of trust to another, he used every increased power in the same direction, in spite of clamour, calumny, and malice, is abundantly shown in the foregoing narrative. How delightful it was to him to serve the land of

his birth in this cause, in concert with such men as General Bourke and Sir Lowry Cole, his own pen has recorded.

The wrongs, oppressions, and iron despotisms which eventually drove the unhappy Settlement into a foolish, wicked, and unjustifiable rebellion, he did his utmost to expose ; and in a celebrated speech, delivered in the Legislative Council in 1854, he gave a full history of the Settlement from its foundation to that date.

This speech was published with a valuable appendix in a pamphlet, entitled "Light and Shade," by the Rev. W. Thompson, of Cape Town, the copious extracts wherefrom which fill this chapter are made with his permission.

These extracts, however, must be prefaced by a letter addressed to the acting Secretary to Government, dated Dec. 13th, 1828, when, as will be remembered, he was Commissioner-General.

"Cape Town, December 13, 1828.

"SIR,—Having given the fullest consideration to the subject contained in the memorandum, issued for me from your office on the 29th of September last, I beg leave to observe that the settlement of the Hottentots, and their gradual advancement generally to a state of agriculturalists, having long occupied my attention, I am prepared to say that their assemblage in villages near towns, or even remote therefrom, will not be found to answer the desired object. The Hottentots, in their present condition, have not sufficient check upon themselves to withstand the temptations afforded by the ease with which strong liquor is to be procured where bodies of men are congregated in or near the proposed villages ; shops for the retail of such liquor would be opened ; every disposable article would be turned into money for the purchase thereof ; the conditions of the grants would not be complied with ; the grants would consequently be cancelled, and the inhabitants dispersed,

further removed from civilisation than when they were collected.

“It strikes me that all laws which kept the Hottentots, as to their political rights, beneath other classes of Her Majesty’s free subjects in this Colony having, been abolished, no extraordinary measures towards forcing their advancement can be necessary. On the contrary, these can only retard their real improvement by turning things out of their natural course.

“Villages and towns should be left to create themselves, as the improvement of trade induces people to settle in compact numbers ; and there are few places in the Colony where even the industrious Hottentot would find a ready market for the surplus produce of an erf.

“I would, therefore, recommend that, in the granting of lands, the Hottentots be put upon an equal footing with the other Colonists ; that where they can prove themselves capable of stocking or cultivating a farm, a proportionate quantity of land be ceded to them, allowing them a reasonable term for the payment of expenses of survey, &c., and improvement of the place.

“I have in my letter of the 22nd ult. attempted to point out the necessity of the occupation of the whole of the ceded territory. In it I should propose settling as many Hottentots (indiscriminately together with other Colonists) as can be found with sufficient character, recommendation, and property, or assistance of others, to be set up as graziers or agriculturists.

“The grants should be as small as the water and other localities will admit of, in order to secure a dense population and the greater strength.

“Among the discharged soldiers of the Cape Corps at the missionary institutions, and in various other parts of the Colony, many fit subjects of the above description

can be found ; and I feel confident that no better defence against the Kaffirs (in case of necessity) does exist than such a community of Hottentots, attached to the soil by the right of property, would be.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ A. STOCKENSTROM.

“ Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Bell,

“ Acting Secretary to Government.”

The speech itself was on the Rebellion and its causes, and in support of a call for papers to be laid before the Council, and is a fine specimen of the masterful way in which he treated every subject in debate ; for in the Senate House he was as bold, unflinching, and uncompromising, and as sure of the impregnability of his position, as he was when Commandant-General in the battlefield, and was always listened to with the greatest respect and attention.

Sir A. Stockenstrom said,—SIR, In entering upon the most disagreeable task which could have fallen to my lot, I feel how much I shall encroach on the forbearance and patience of this House ; but my sense of my physical as well as mental incompetency cannot relieve me from a sacred duty which compels me to trace the history of that which an Hon. Member opposite has justly called an “ atrocious rebellion.” A rebellion, not only atrocious, but insane : no less murderous than suicidal. I have been warned that I am going to start upon a very unpopular course : that is possible ; and if so, I am sorry for it. I wish to merit the approbation of my country. I have every respect for public opinion ; but I tremble before my Maker, the God of Truth, whose dread tribunal I am rapidly approaching ! I have, therefore, no alternative. But I deny that the cause of the weak and the

oppressed is unpopular in this country. The majority of the people justly claim protection against robbers, vagrants, and other nuisances ; but they do not long for the cruel destruction or extermination of the unfortunate remnant of a race whose fathers have, by violence and injustice, been dispossessed of every inch of the land, in virtue of the possession whereof we have our seats in this House, however honestly we have acquired it. I was sent here by six thousand three hundred votes from the East, and should have had six thousand three hundred from the West, if the law had not forbid it, and not one of those votes was, or would have been given without the perfect knowledge that my sentiments are those which I shall this day proclaim ; so that my constituents, at least, are not deaf to the calls of humanity and mercy. I am not going to detain you with a lengthened history of the fallen race whose existence is drawing to a close, farther than to remind you of the several attempts made in later years to render the life of the Hottentot less and less insupportable, until we come to the celebrated 50th Ordinance, which has been the subject of so much bitter discussion and controversy. And here I must take the opportunity of confessing my share, my complicity in that great crime, so that one more may be added to the list of my political delinquencies in my native land, for here I lay before you the memorandum in which that so-called Hottentot Magna Charta originated. There it is,* filthy, as it has been mouldering among heaps of dusty papers which were supposed to be consigned to oblivion, but which the present melancholy transactions have caused to be raked up. By that document, that excellent man, Sir Richard Bourke, was first moved to enter upon the framing of the said Ordinance, which received its legal

* *Vide* Appendix A.

shape and details from another excellent man, Mr. Justice Burton. To give practical effect to this enactment was one of the objects of the Kat River Settlement. Sir Lowry Cole soon relieved Sir R. Bourke, and it was not long before he had to deal with a very difficult question. The Kaffir chief Macomo and his clan had gradually obtruded themselves into the upper parts of the Kat River, which, by the so-called treaty between Lord Charles Somerset and Gaika, had become a part of what was first the "neutral" and afterwards the "ceded territory." Macomo was allowed, through mistaken lenity and vacillation, which he misinterpreted into weakness, to settle down with the understanding that he was there upon sufferance, and on condition of his keeping the peace and restraining his people. In violation of this pledge, he attacked a tribe of Tambookies, then on terms of amity with the Colony, and occupying the borders of the Cradock district; and when these Tambookies fled into the Colony for shelter he pursued them into the Tarka, and there slaughtered many of these our allies within the British dominions, to the great consternation of the there exposed defenceless British subjects. The Governor brought the matter before the Council, of which I was then a member, and it was, as it is, my opinion, that in dealing with barbarians, and indeed with all nations, the firm and prompt chastisement of such an outrage was as essential as strict justice and humanity, and I recommended the expulsion of Macomo and his followers from the land which he held possession of upon sufferance. The result was, as the records of Council or the Colonial Office will show, that I was despatched in my capacity of Commissioner-General to carry the said expulsion into effect. To make this operation tend to the security of the Frontier, became, of

course, my essential duty, and the best mode of disposing of the ceded territory beyond the Koonap entered largely into my speculations on my passage to Algoa Bay ; and at Uitenhage I drew up, on the 17th April, 1829, the following

HINTS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SECRETARY
TO GOVERNMENT.

“Whatever may be said of the policy of Government relative to the ceded territory originally, it is now perfectly clear that it is looked upon as part of the Colony, and that the understanding between Sir Rufane Donkin and Gaika is considered binding. (Vide Despatch of Her Majesty’s Secretary of State.) What that ceded territory embraces is explained by the *Government Gazette* of the 30th October, 1819.

“Certain parts of this same territory have been taken possession of by Kaffirs, who are now to be removed therefrom, and it is thought that, if it should be necessary to resort to force of arms, the troops will require the assistance of the Burghers.

“There is good reason to doubt whether a strong Commando could be assembled at present from among the Boers on or near the Frontier. At any rate, if assembled, it must soon be dispersed again to enable the Boers to return to their homes. After which, the Kaffirs might return, and, though not settle in, still scatter themselves over, the ceded territory, and make themselves very troublesome. In the meantime, Government has ample resources to carry the expulsion of the Kaffirs from the said territory into effect, and to repel the whole force of Kaffirland, if necessary, without even calling out the farmers to any great extent, viz. :—

“There are numerous Hottentot families all over the

country, without fixed abodes, who lose or neglect nothing by being sent to any part of the Frontier. At the several missionary establishments there are many more who complain that they cannot live there, as their flocks are perishing from want of pasturage. With the white inhabitants there must also be a number remaining, too prudent to leave service before they know where to settle, and yet anxious to better their condition. Among these unfortunate people there surely must be many who can be recommended as steady characters ; many who have long served as soldiers, and many who have stock to begin farming with. They would be glad to go anywhere for relief ; they might be collected and marched to the Gonappe Post, or other point, there armed (such as have no arms of their own) and (whilst actually on Commando) victualled by Government. They might advance with the troops into the territory out of which Macomo is to be driven, whilst their families follow at their leisure with their flocks and whatever more they may possess. That no better troops than the Hottentots against Kaffirs can be employed, experience has taught. As soon as their actual Commando service shall have been performed and new military posts in the country to be vacated by the Kaffirs, taken up, they would, of course, be no longer dependent on Government rations, but be thrown on their own resources, and would be *provisionally located* as near as convenient to said posts in small parties and eligible situations, so as to be supported by, and in return support, those posts when necessary.

“ I say ‘ *provisionally located*,’ because I do not think it advisable that permanent grants be made in particular tracts of country to Hottentots exclusively, as that would deprive them of the benefit of examples of industry and civilisation which might be brought into the midst of

them, by their being indiscriminately mixed with other settlers, as formerly proposed by me. The arrangement would perhaps also be *necessarily provisional*, as the Colonial Government may think it proper to refer the question home, as to the settlement of said territory ; moreover, it may be prudent to take a reasonable time to give these men a fair trial, in order to judge from their exertions and conduct under these novel circumstances, which are fit subjects to bestow grants upon ; but they ought certainly to be clearly made to understand that such fit subjects shall be entitled (after such trial and if the question be not given against them by the Home Government) to grants according to their means and merits.

“ No other class of people in the Colony can be brought together in the above proposed manner, and no other set of men can be rendered more efficient auxiliaries towards the object in view. The white inhabitants have their homes and business to leave, and must often be dismissed when their co-operation is most wanted ; the Hottentots above alluded to could, and would gladly, take their all with them ; be at home on the spot where their services are required, and constitute a permanent barrier against the Kaffirs. When once there, and joined by their families, their removal would put an end to the clamour about their wandering over the Colony without residence or occupation ; they would be deprived of their plea of having no place of refuge, and the way would be paved to their gradually becoming landholders more generally, whilst a small additional Commando would be sufficient for the immediate purposes of Government, and could also soon be dispensed with.

“ This arrangement would not deprive the Hottentots of the benefit of missionary labour, for though they

would not form exclusively Hottentot districts or villages, yet they would be near enough to each other to meet often for the purposes of religious instruction, and the risk of throwing away 'land on worthless characters' would, in a great measure, be avoided, as before the final settlement of the grants the irreclaimable portion will have withdrawn, or at least be well known.

"The Commissioner-General, rather than forcing these views upon the notice of His Excellency the Governor, prefers, in the first instance, giving them for consideration to the Secretary to Government, to be by him turned to such use as he shall think proper, either in maturing his own plans and suggestions, or by laying them before His Excellency the Governor."

Here, then, originated the Kat River Settlement. To benefit the forlorn remnants of the former possessors of South Africa, upon the basis of the 50th Ordinance, was undoubtedly one of my objects, but a secondary one. It was for the selfish purpose of turning the better and more efficient part of the Hottentots into a breastwork against an exasperated, powerful enemy in the most vulnerable and dangerous part of our Frontier, that I decoyed them from those retreats where many of them were certainly not very comfortable, but where they were, at least, safe, and legally their own masters. By the bait of a speck in the vast territories of their fathers, I drew them into the slavery of constant watching, patrolling, half-starving upon "veld kost," and the chance of any day getting their throats cut. For brevity's sake I refer the House for details to the records which I hope to obtain. Suffice it here to say, that Macomo and his people were expelled from the upper Kat River, and Hottentots gradually migrated into and took possession

of that tract. The regulations which I imposed on them the House will likewise find on record ; but I must here explicitly premise that, with the exception of the fire-arms which were lent to those who had none of their own, the ammunition which they expended for the protection of the country, and a few muids of maize seed, as noticed by Mr. Justice Menzies, they did not, under my administration ever cost the Government one farthing, beyond the soldier's rations of food which were issued to them whilst they were actually employed in military service. Among the leaders whom I appointed as heads of parties was a certain Andries Botha, whom I shall have occasion more than once to refer to. He brought to me the strongest recommendations as an honest man, a brave soldier, and a zealous public servant. Sir Lowry Cole visited the settlement before it was many months old. He expressed his unqualified approbation of my preliminary steps in, as well as of the limits which I prescribed to, the settlement, and in token of his entire confidence, he soon after left to me the discretionary disposal of the rest of the ceded territory west of the Kat River, which I distributed among the white part of the population, English as well as Dutch, and which embraced the whole of the Upper Koonap, and everything south of the Kroom Mountain Chain, between the Koonap and Kat, to their junction with the Fish River ; thus, at least, three or four times as much as was allotted to the Hottentots, of equally good land, divided into from 100 to 120 extensive farms. This separation of white and Hottentot population was not part of my original plan, but Sir L. Cole thought that the best mode of giving the latter class a fair trial would be to leave them to themselves. Now, here it becomes my painful duty to give the most unqualified contradiction to those who, either falsely or

ignorantly, have pronounced this Kat River Settlement a failure, as I have it in my power to show, by the most unimpeachable testimony, that never in this or any other country was any experiment of a similar character more successful, for as long as it was fairly, honestly, and justly dealt with. Let us begin with Sir L. Cole, with whom, as is well understood, I did not agree in everything, but who is known here and everywhere as a soldier, a gentleman, a man of truth. Hear what he tells the Colonial Secretary of State, on the 2nd January, 1830:—

“The Commissioner-General, Captain Stockenstrom, undertook to superintend the formation of the settlement, and it is highly gratifying to me to be able to state that the experiment promises to succeed beyond his or my most sanguine expectations.

“The exertions of the Hottentots, in making canals for the purpose of irrigation, during the short time they occupied the land previous to my visiting them, was matter of great surprise and satisfaction, not only to myself, but to every individual who has witnessed their progress, even of those who are least favourable to them as a people.”*

Again on the 25th October, 1830, he writes thus:—

“In my Despatch of the 2nd January last, I mentioned that I had been induced to form a location of Hottentots in that part of the ceded territory from which Macomo had been expelled, and that it gave a fair promise of success; and it is gratifying to me to state (and may be so to you and Sir George Murray to hear) that I have not been disappointed in my expectations, as the settle-

* Vide “*Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa*,” 1835, p. 54.

ment has continued to thrive, although it has suffered much from drought, horse sickness, and other casualties.

"Mr. Justice Menzies visited the location at my request, when on his late circuit ; and I transmit a letter which he wrote to me on the subject, from which you will perceive that he speaks very favourably respecting the progress that has been made since I visited it.

"I now enclose an extract of a letter, addressed by the Rev. Mr. Thomson to Captain Stockenstrom, which shows that there exists an anxiety for mental improvement among the Hottentots, and affords ground to hope that they are susceptible of that improvement which their friends have considered them to be."

Was the writer of these documents a visionary, an enthusiast?

Then comes Mr. Justice Menzies. Was he a "mock philanthropist," a missionary, or a wild schemer? No, the coolest and soundest head then in the country, and certainly no flatterer of mine. (Hear, hear.) He tells the Governor, as per enclosure above referred to,—

"Graham's Town.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is with very great pleasure that I have now to communicate to your Excellency a most favourable report of the state of the Hottentot locations on the Kat River. On the evening of Saturday, Captain Stockenstrom and I rode from his cottage at Kaga Post up the Zoola, for about four hours, where we spent the night in his waggon, and at daylight next morning commenced our ride round the Hottentot locations. We saw about ten or twelve of them, and everywhere we found that the greatest industry had been exerted by the Hottentots. At each location watercourses for leading

the water from the streams to the cultivated grounds, and some of them of great length, had been completed, and except at two places, where the river itself had ceased to flow, with complete success.

"We also found that at each location, with the exception of the two places above mentioned (which, however, are not quite destitute of crops), there has been a sufficient quantity of Indian and Kaffir corn and pumpkins raised to support the settlers during the winter.

"Their first Indian corn-seed had been bad, and the produce was very indifferent ; but Captain Stockenstrom had procured other seed for them from the Lange Kloof, which has turned out very well. In several places the Indian or Kaffir corn was seven or eight feet high. At Old Booyack's, Captain Stockenstrom calculated the quantity of ground under cultivation at about 15 morgen ; however, on probably about one-third of this there was no crop, the season having been so far advanced before the second seed arrived, that the ground was, in many places, too dry and hard for being sown.

"I am sorry to say that in some places much industry has been thrown away in the formation of watercourses, in consequence of the settlers' ignorance of the science of levelling, and the great length to which the watercourses must be continued, in consequence of the depth of the channels of the streams from which the water is led. In other places, considerable skill had been shown. At Ballour, John Valentyn has the water carried across a ravine of more than sixty feet in breadth, in a trough formed of large trees hollowed out. His present watercourse is the second he has made ; the level of the first having been formed too low for the irrigation of some land well adapted for cultivation. The Hottentots are all at present as comfortably housed, or rather

huted, as their habits and the climate require. At Booyack's and one or two other places, large and commodious houses are in progress. William Valentyn has finished, and now inhabits, a large and commodious cottage, whitewashed outside ; and from the state of everything about his place, I think he has every chance of gaining the Pompey colt, which Stockenstrom has offered as a prize to the Hottentot who, on the 1st January, 1831, shall be found to have done most on his place. When it is considered for how short a time even the first settled Hottentots have been on their places, it is impossible to avoid feeling surprise at finding that so much has been done.

" I do not recollect the exact numbers of the cattle sheep, and goats which, by the last returns, it appears that they possessed ; but they were very considerable, and I myself saw numerous herds of very fine cattle and oxen. I am sorry, however, to have to report that the horse sickness has prevailed to a great extent, and in some valleys has annihilated the whole stock of horses. The people seemed all healthy, happy, and contented, and complained of nothing except the horse sickness and Kaffir depredations. I did not discover that those depredations, although so numerous as to be very irksome and annoying, had been committed on a great scale, and considering how formidable and apparently insurmountable a barrier the mountain frontier here interposes between the district where the Hottentots are settled and Kaffirland, I am inclined to believe that the depredations complained of have not been committed by foragers from Kaffirland, but by some of the numerous Kaffirs who have been permitted to remain within the Colony, and who are at present to be found in considerable numbers on the skirts of the Hottentot locations, and

interposed between them and Fort Beaufort. Nothing can be easier than for individuals belonging to those bands, who are constantly moving from the Colony to Kaffirland and from Kaffirland to the Colony, in the course of their migrations, by taking a little circuit within the district of the Hottentot locations, to possess themselves of a few straggling cattle at a time, and with them to reach in safety the extensive bush, which for so many miles covers the borders both of Kaffirland and of this Colony, on the lower part of the frontier of Albany. We were in general accompanied for many miles by the heads of the different locations, so that after the first part of our ride we had seldom less than twelve or fourteen Hottentots with us. From the confidence they seemed to place in Captain Stockenstrom and the queries put to them by him, I am convinced, that if they had any grievances to complain of, I must have been informed of them. The horse sickness and the Kaffir depredations were, however, their only grievances. They appeared fully sensible of their present comfort and independence, and grateful to the Government by whom these had been bestowed. The only quarrel or dispute among themselves which I heard of was between two individuals as to the property of a particular cow ; and for the settlement of this dispute they were referred to the Resident Magistrate of Albany, if they should be unable to arrange the matter amicably by the award of the heads of the locations." *

Is this your failure? But then comes something prophetic which shows the depth and foresight of the statesman and lawyer. He warns the ruling powers in these words :—

* Vide "*Papers*," &c., p. 56.

“So far as I could form an opinion, the Hottentot Settlement on the Kat River does not, at present, require any magistrate to be appropriated to it, and they seem quite capable of managing their own affairs without the interference of any European or white person. No affair can require to be treated with greater delicacy and caution than the introduction among them of any person having any authority of any kind whatsoever over them, for on the discretion and good sense of that person would, in a great measure, depend the future success of an experiment which has hitherto been attended with complete success.” *

There is a prophecy which you will soon see verified to the letter. Next comes a document illustrative of the moral and religious progress of the settlement, communicated by the Rev. Mr. Thomson, also transmitted to the Secretary of State by Sir L. Cole, running thus :—

EXTRACT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY THE CLERGYMAN OF THE HOTTENTOT SETTLEMENTS ON THE KAT RIVER TO THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL, DATED 27TH SEPT., 1830.

After pointing out the want of bibles and other books of religious instruction among the Hottentots of the new settlements, the clergyman states their great desire to be furnished with them, and adds,—

“This arises from anxiety to enjoy the privileges of church membership by admission to baptism and the Lord’s Supper, previous to which they are aware that a knowledge of the catechism is expected. With the same view, others who had not formerly learned to read are

* Vide “*Papers*,” &c., p. 56.

endeavouring now to learn. To assist them a little, and promote the improvement of any who choose to avail themselves of the opportunity, I commenced a Sabbath-school a fortnight ago, to which I devote one hour before and another after divine service : the attendance is about seventy. Our progress will, however, be much retarded from the scarcity of books. If anything can be done to furnish a supply of elementary works, they would be of great assistance.

“ You will, I dare say, consider a Sabbath-school quite inadequate to meet the wants of the people, and the instruction being in Dutch, not conducive to the views of Government for the general diffusion of the English language : of this I am fully aware, and feel extremely anxious for the establishment of a public week-day school. If such establishment is likely to be long delayed, I shall cheerfully devote a few hours two or three days in the week to it, provided some school apparatus is furnished to me, until a regular schoolmaster is appointed.

“ The attendance at school is fully greater than I had expected—from 150 to 200. I have administered the Sacrament of Baptism to eleven adults, besides their infant children.” *

Lord Goderich on the 26th May, 1831, gives this answer :—

“ I have had under my consideration the report which you have transmitted to my Under-Secretary of State on the present condition of the Hottentot Settlement which has recently been formed at the Kat River, and it has afforded me the highest satisfaction to peruse the favourable accounts which Judge Menzies and the Rev. Mr. Thomson have given of the intelligence, industry, and

* Vide “ *Papers*,” &c., pp. 56, 57.

desire for religious instruction which have hitherto been manifested by the people of that Settlement.

"I am anxious, therefore, to express to you my approbation of the measure which you have adopted, to appoint Mr. Thomson to watch over their interests as their pastor ; and I am desirous also that you should earnestly impress upon the Commissioner-General of the eastern districts of the Colony, that His Majesty's Government rely with confidence on the exercise of his own personal watchfulness over the welfare of the Settlement, to the end that not only no undue interference from any quarter be exercised with the people, but that they be fully protected against the Kaffirs and against the intrusion of vagabonds." *

Such, then, was the state in which I left the Settlement in 1832, to proceed to the mother-country, when, for reasons which need not here be referred to, I resigned the Commissioner-Generalship, and retired to the north of Europe, without the least expectation of ever holding office in this country again. In my absence the Settlement was visited by acting Governor Colonel Wade, by the Chief Justice of this Colony, by the Recorder of Natal, and by other men of importance and veracity, and you may easily refer to their testimonies with reference to the "failure." About the close of 1834, the Kaffir war of that date broke out, which led to a select committee of the House of Commons. In St. Petersburg I received a summons to attend the committee, which I did, and having once more returned to Stockholm, I was ordered thence to London, and sent as Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Districts, where I arrived in September, 1836. I need not say that the war had plunged the Frontier into

* Vide "*Papers*," &c., pp. 56, 57.

ruin and disorder ; but that especially the Kat River settlers were beggared, and in the highest state of excitement. I had, last Monday, occasion to state my sentiments with reference to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and whilst reiterating my profound respect for such a character, I cannot but feel the deepest regret that the discussion of the question before us must rake up a whirlpool of acrimony which I had fain hoped might have for ever been consigned to oblivion, and depict a being in whom every social and public virtue was alloyed by that overwhelming good nature, so dangerous in a public man, which renders the monosyllable "No" unutterable. He had behaved with the utmost kindness to the Kat River settlers. He, as well as Sir H. (then Colonel) Smith, admitted to me that their services during the war had been of incalculable value. He had visited them, comforted them, and seeing their homes in ashes, their crops destroyed, and the whole population struggling against want and disease, for fever had crept into their camps, he released them from the obligation which I had imposed upon them, to erect substantial buildings on their respective allotments before receiving their title deeds ; and, in confirmation of this decision, actually ordered the completion of several of the grants without any such or other unusual servitude. In fact, Sir H. Smith and others nearer home may yet tell you that, when the war broke out—when panic had seized the whole country, including many a stout warrior, when a detachment of the bravest troops in the world had to abandon such a fortress as Fort Willshire then was, under cover of the night, and when the Kat River settlers had received positive and threatening orders to abandon their all and retreat upon Graham's Town, to save their lives—the latter despised community had

indignantly set authority at defiance,—sworn to die on the land so lately bestowed on them before they should cede an inch,—kept their ground throughout the war, and thereby covered the Winterberg, East Riet River, Baviaan's River, and Somerset Districts, which must otherwise have given way as far as jungles extend, whilst strong contingents were constantly drawn from these Hottentots to reinforce the army in the field. Most of these particulars I had from Sir B. D'Urban himself, as well as from Sir H. Smith, Captain Stretch, and others, who served in that war. Andries Botha, especially, had, by his valour, activity, and zeal, gained such general approbation that the Governor had appointed him Field-Cornet, together with other deserving characters. Yet the Kat River settlers were sorely grieved and much excited. Admitting the Governor's kindness, they complained that hundreds of them had been kept on Commando when the white Burghers were allowed to return to their homes, though most of the latter had comfortable homes to return to, whilst their wives and children were cooped up in camps, crawling in ashes, and wasting with fever. I found numbers of them still guarding military posts—complaining, but submissively doing the soldier's duty. But what galled them to the quick was, that the Governor had been induced to alienate a considerable portion of the land allotted to them by Sir L. Cole, and to grant it to Civil Commissioner Campbell, their magistrate, to Major Armstrong, Major Blakeway, Mr. Fuller, and, above all, that worthy *protégé*, the petty Kaffir chief, Hermanus Matroos, whom they feared and distrusted, and who has since performed so bloody, and to himself fatal, a part on our frontier stage in the last war—15,000 acres had been allotted to this wily barbarian out of 44,000 acres of the best Hottentot land,

which had been distributed between him and the four gentlemen above named—one their own magistrate. Was not Mr. Justice Menzies a prophet? At the very time when, as I showed the House last Monday, 10,000 acres not far from thence were deemed too much for an extensive Dutch Reformed congregation, and given to two private individuals; whilst the said congregation were told that they might find a church some twenty miles farther off.

Here it seems *à propos* to give some traces of the history of this celebrated Hermanus Matroos. When I reached the Frontier as Commissioner-General, in 1828, the Landdrost of Albany, Major Dundas, had recently dismissed him from the Colonial service in which he had acted as Kaffir interpreter, and proposed that he should be sent across the Frontier into Kaffirland; but the military Commandant, Colonel Somerset, stated that he had served us so well at the expense of his country, that he was certain to be put to a cruel death, as soon as he should be caught east of the border. I thought it wrong to sacrifice a man whom we had made a traitor to his country, and Sir L. Cole agreed with me that he should be sent inwards into the Colony, to some locality remote from the Kaffir Frontier; but here I found him, in 1836, thrust into the midst of the infant Colony, surrounded by a number of followers as savage as himself.

As these grants were in direct contravention of the royal instructions, which I had occasion to refer to in the Glen Lynden question last Monday, I could not help declining to complete the titles, and, after much disagreeable controversy, I restored the land to the Settlement, reducing as much as possible the extent allotted to Hermanus, whom it was not deemed safe, in those troublous times, altogether to eject, after he had been

allowed to nestle himself, though the Hottentots were very jealous of his being settled in the midst of them. And they were right, as the sequel will show. However, after the restoration of the greatest proportion of the alienated land, and my being soon able to discharge the men from military service and to allow them to return to their families, contentment was once more complete, and the ruined settlers rallied once more. So that in 1838, Sir George Napier found them in a condition which made him, in the fulness of his honest, generous heart, exclaim, in the presence of his staff. "Well, Captain Stockenstrom, if I were the creator of this Settlement, I should fancy that I had done enough for one man's life," and which he thus described to a Select Committee of the House of Commons on June 23, 1851 :—

"I understand you to say that you doubt the policy of placing that Settlement so near the frontier?—I do.

"When you visited the Settlement, was it in a prosperous state?—It was ; when I went into it I was astonished to find myself met at the end of the village by four or five distinct columns of children and adults, with school-masters. Every one of those children could read and write, to a certain degree. The houses were built of unburnt brick, and some of brick, and they had gardens before them, with all kinds of tillage, and they had beasts in the different kraals. Dr. Philip showed me, in the schools, boys and adults who were reading and writing, and they came up as regular as any school in any town of England would do, under their different teachers.

"You saw the gardens cultivated, and the land generally cultivated ?—Yes ; there was a large tract of land cultivated.

"Were the Hottentots themselves the labourers ; did

they cultivate the gardens and the land themselves?—Yes ; they make the women work a great deal more than the men.”

Mr. Under-Secretary Hawes, who could not imagine that a Hottentot would move his hands except to eat or to steal, goes on to ask,—

“Were not the Fingoes the chief labourers?—No ; the Fingoes were not in that Settlement.

“Were there no Gonahs ?—After the war a few Kaffirs had gone in among them, but generally they were Hottentots, and a great many of them old discharged soldiers from the Cape Corps.

“Were you led to believe that the Hottentots themselves were the actual cultivators of the gardens and fields, or did you ascertain the fact from your own personal knowledge?—I saw them myself cultivating the fields. I do not say I saw them at the plough, because they use the hoe.”*

Then follows, a little lower down, a beautiful specimen of official delicacy. Mr. Under-Secretary continues to ask the respectable ex-Governor and true gentleman,—

“You are not at all acquainted with the reports made upon the state of that Settlement by Mr Biddulph, who was sent there by Sir Henry Pottinger ?—I read a Blue Book of Sir Henry Pottinger two years back ; Mr. Biddulph came out when I was there ; I think he reported unfavourably. I remember reading a report, and saying at the time, ‘Mr Biddulph does not report very favourably of this Settlement.’ It was sent home to me by the secretary.

* “Report from the Select Committee on the Kaffir Tribes,” 1851, pp. 220, 222.

“Mr Biddulph, in that report, makes the following statement :—‘ Whatever might be the avowed motives of the founders of the Settlement, it is quite clear, by this statement, that it was never designed to be a self-supporting community, although there is no reason why it should not have been ; for it might, after the lapse of a few years, just as well have produced £1000 as £50 per annum, and the people would have been more prosperous and respectable. But the truth is, the whole affair, from beginning to end, has been nothing but the most transparent piece of humbug ever practised upon the public, to serve the purposes of unscrupulous, intriguing people ?—I cannot agree in that.”

“ A most transparent piece of humbug, to serve the purposes of unscrupulous, intriguing people,” practised by such men as Sir L. Cole, Sir B. D’Urban, Sir G. Napier, Sir P. Maitland, and a host of others. Fancy with what inward movement the chivalrous knight must have given the smart official the laconic reply, “ I cannot agree in that.” At any rate Sir G. Napier has now told you in what state he found the Kat River Settlement in 1838, just two years after war, ill-treatment, and fever had completely crushed them. There they were, as loyal as ever—the past forgetting, and hoping for the future ; and in that state I left them in his hands, when I returned to England once more to retire from the office of Lieut.-Governor. In 1840, I returned as a private individual, and too glad to live retired. I knew nothing of the Settlement except by report, which continued favourable, until the Kaffir war of 1846 broke out. But that it continued to prosper till then will appear from an account published in Cape Town on the 30th May, 1851, by the Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. Innes,

who, upon ocular demonstration and minute investigation, speaks as favourably and warmly as either Sir L. Cole, Sir G. Napier, or Mr. Justice Menzies had done.* This was the "failure," the "transparent humbug!"

The war of 1846 was ushered in by the celebrated affair of Burns Hill, which we called "chastising the enemy," but where a strong body of British troops, as fine and brave as ever took the field, was defeated and literally driven into Blockdrift by a host of the so-called "irreclaimable savages," when, during the flight and panic, sixty-five of our waggon in a blaze, and the ammunition waggon abandoned, the "arch rebel" Andries Botha, with 250 of his Kat River settlers, came, forced his way through retreating friends and pursuing enemies — seized upon the ammunition — carried it triumphant through the fight—covered the retreat, and was mainly instrumental in saving what was saved. Matters having become thus serious, I was called into the field by the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir P. Maitland, and appointed Commandant-General of the Burgher forces. The Kat River Settlement fell within my command. Colonel Sutton had the local command. Under every possible privation and misery—a complete repetition of those of 1835—the loyalty, zeal, obedience, and bravery of the settlers were most exemplary. Colonel Sutton was loud in their praise, and so strongly recommended to me Andries Botha, that I appointed him second Commandant of the Kat River contingent in the field. The Kaffir Hermanus Matroos offered to join me with all his men. I declined, telling him that he should not cut the throats of his countrymen on account of the Queen of England, under my auspices. The Hottentots were thankful for this, for they did not trust him; but

* Vide *Appendix, B.* 7.

he was soon after engaged by the Government, for pay which he never received. At last the grand combined attack upon the redoubted Amatola was to be made, and such was the confidence of Lieut.-Governor Colonel Hare in Andries Botha and the Kat River people, that the day before the attack he sent to me Captain Stretch, who is now in Cape Town, a member of Parliament, to request of me to detach Botha and 500 of his men to strengthen him. This I refused, because Colonel Hare's Division was much stronger than mine; but I promised to send Botha and a strong body of Hottentots to support his left, and keep open the communication with my right. This I did as we rushed into the Amatola at peep of day next morning. I entered the upper forest with the main body of my Division. Botha and his detachment were in the deep, rugged kloofs in the centre, and as Colonel Hare, on the right, did not deem it necessary to descend into the jungles, Botha became isolated, of which the Kaffirs took advantage—made him the chief object of attack, and kept him engaged until late in the evening, when he rejoined me, complaining that he had been left in the lurch. An honourable member of this House, and two honourable members in another place, were eye-witnesses to all this. We soon cleared the Amatola—went across the Kei to dictate terms to Kreli, and punished the Tambookies under Mapassa. I, not long after, resigned, without ever having seen the slightest symptom of disloyalty among the Kat River people, although their sufferings were fearful. Sir P. Maitland was perfectly satisfied with them, and behaved towards them in a most kind and considerate manner.* Colonel Sutton succeeded me in my command, and certainly saw no disloyalty.

* Vide *Appendix, B. 8.*

But now we come to the turning-point. Sir H. Pottinger arrived as Governor and High Commissioner. The Kaffirs under Pato were to be subdued, reinforcements were required, Kat River was again resorted to. Colonel Somerset was sent to call out the Hottentot settlers, as holding their lands, according to his idea, on condition of doing military service. They answered him with their title deeds. He saw his mistake, altered his tone, and asked for volunteers. The reply was—"We are ready to serve the Queen to the last, but you see us naked and hungry, twice ruined by two wars within eleven years!" The Colonel promised rations and blankets, and Botha started once more with a strong party, each man receiving a blanket. Sir G. Berkeley stated that there were then 900 out of 1000 adults of the Kat River settlers doing service. Here we have his report—

"Camp, Fort Peddie, March 23, 1847.

"SIR,—Having had several communications with Colonel Somerset since his return from the Kat River Settlement, I have the honour to state to your Excellency the situation in which the inhabitants of that river are placed, as adduced from a memorandum furnished by Colonel Somerset.

"The population consists of 3,700 women and children and 1000 adults, 900 of whom are effective and doing duty, 400 at present in the field, and 500 garrisoning the important posts in that district. Under the general rule, the wives and families of the 400 men in the field only would receive rations; but from the nature of the duties of the remaining 500, although not actually with me in the field, they are wholly prevented from attending their agricultural pursuits, or in any other way providing for their families, as I conceive the posts they hold too

important to be abandoned at the present crisis, I beg to submit to the favourable consideration of your Excellency the recommendation of Colonel Somerset, that, for the present, the wives and families of these men also should be allowed rations, furnished through the Commissariat at the expense of the Colonial Government.

"The Kat River people are in a very different position from the Burghers of any other Division of the Colony, as I learn the proportion furnished by any other Division is not more than three per cent. of the adult population, whereas the Kat River Burghers actually furnish a quota of ninety per cent. This circumstance, I trust, may be considered as sufficient to justify an exception in their favour.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed)

"G. H. BERKELEY,

"Lieut.-General Commanding." *

After this, is it possible for the House, without positive proof, to believe the following fact?—Botha and his men, after accomplishing the service for which they were called out, were dismissed—you will suppose amply rewarded, either substantially, or, at least, with kind words. No! The very blankets which had been issued to them when they took the field—then threadbare—were stripped off their backs, and returned into the Queen of England's store, whilst they went home shivering! Well may you stare! But war is demoralising, and we must suppose that certain irregularities had crept into the Settlement; for Sir H. Pottinger, with an instinctive horror of all that is immoral, either of a domestic or public character, lost no time in sending Mr. Biddulph to check it in the Kat River, and to

* "Correspondence relative to the state of the Kaffir Tribes," p. 59.

report, which was done by a string of defamatory libels, in which also the delicate and polished phrases "transparent humbug" and "unscrupulous, intriguing people" are made to apply to some of the most honourable and honoured predecessors of the Queen's representative, who, nevertheless, finds those libels worthy of his patronage, and of a place in the *Government Gazette*, under his sanction. In the meantime, the Hottentot settlers, beggared and starving, anxious to relieve themselves from Government and charity-rations, took to the hardest work that this country knows, timber-felling and sawing ! In a couple of weeks upwards of ninety saw-pits were at work ; but the Governor, no doubt by the way of stimulus to this industry, ordered that a tax of six shillings should be paid for each waggon-load of timber that should be cut by the very men who had so lately been denuded, on account of the Queen, of the Queen's blankets, under which they had fought for that Queen ! The forests had originally been given to the Settlement generally, but the Government reserved its right to them in order to prevent the villages bordering on them from monopolising the timber ; but nothing more than eighteen pence, for the benefit of the local school fund, had ever been exacted, per load, and in no part of the Colony had, in the most prosperous time, so high a tax been imposed as here fell upon the Hottentots in their misery ! This was indeed a knock-down blow, for the naked wretches found that, after toiling on spare diet to get a load ready for market, and struggling through miserable roads for eighty or a hundred miles to Cradock, Somerset, or Graham's Town, they often hardly cleared sufficient to meet the tax ; whilst Mr. Biddulph's libels against them, their wives and their daughters, backed by Sir H. Pottinger, went to grace the records in Downing

Street, to be dished up to some select Parliamentary Committee, in spite of their clamour for investigation, which was treated with systematic contempt. In the midst of this suffering, the Colony was deprived of the services of Sir H. Pottinger ; and Sir H. Smith's arrival gave a gleam of hope to the men who had fought under him, and whose patron and friend he had often declared himself. The beginning was most auspicious. He visited the Settlement, and, after the most flattering promises and demonstrations of sympathy, he, in the most public manner, in a conspicuous position, echoed Sir G. Napier's sentiments in these words : " Call this a failure ?—it is the wisest thing Stockenstrom ever did ;—if this is a failure, the world is a failure ! " He removed Mr. Biddulph and appointed Mr. Bowker to succeed him. There was another fair start at last, as it was thought ; but now follows a chain of events to which I must call the particular attention of the House. Rights to lands are the most tender points with barbarous as well as with civilised nations. The Kat River settlers looked with a jealous eye on any attempt to encroach on the morsel which Sir L. Cole had bequeathed to them. Fancy, then, with what feelings they would see the Mancazana Valley of the Kat River let out to savage Fingoes, for rent that was poured into the Colonial Treasury, the inward brooding with which they would read in the *Government Gazette* the official advertisement of the sale by public auction of the tract wrongfully alienated from them and given to Mr. Fuller, in 1835, but restored in 1837, and the bitter sense of injustice with which they would see the Government Surveyor again abstracting that portion which was in the same manner, and at the same time, allotted to Major Blakeway, and restored, as I have already fully

detailed. At one time thirty-two men were arbitrarily imprisoned. Two men were illegally imprisoned, and as unjustly and illegally fined, and made to work on the roads, and when the injustice was demonstrated, no redress was given. So likewise with illegal seizures of cattle. The favourite of the people, Andries Botha, was dismissed from his position as Field-Cornet, on grounds so palpably futile, that the Government was compelled forthwith to reinstate him. Yet such was the loyalty of the Kat River settlers notwithstanding, that in the celebrated Convict agitation they declared their determination, if matters should come to extremes, to side with the Government ; and in the matter of the Constitution, they expressed their desire to remain under the direct rule of Downing Street. But now came the *coup de grâce*. The "irreclaimable savages" whom the Kat River Hottentots had repeatedly helped Her Majesty's forces to beat, and whom, under my orders in 1846, they had helped to expel from the fastnesses of the Amatola, were marched in to the Settlement under the name of Kaffir Police, and there, under the direction of a British magistrate, committed outrages which, without the most undeniable proof, would be considered impossible under any civilised Government. They were detailed in my letter to the Secretary to Government, dated 11th July, 1850, before the receipt whereof the Governor, Sir H. Smith, had, by means of the *Government Gazette*, proclaimed these exploits as if a glorious military triumph and a great moral benefit had been achieved. Let any honourable member read my letter, as it is here before me in the Blue Book, laid before the House of Commons on the 19th May, 1851, and let him try to do so without horror and disgust, if he finds by the papers I ask, that every one of Andries Botha's statements, as therein contained, were proved to the

letter ; and let him believe if he can, that the magistrate was quietly removed from his office, without the remotest shadow of redress to the miserable beings who had repeatedly fought our battles—whose wives, with infants of three or four days old at the breast, were turned out of their huts on a cold winter Sunday—whose only, though lowly and humble, habitations were reduced to ashes, whilst they, with their families and scanty flocks, were driven out of the Colony upon the mercies of their enemies—and mark, that about this same time, the muskets which had been lent them by Sir L. Cole for their own protection and the defence of the country, and with which they had, during two wars, so nobly struggled, were taken from them, leaving them in so far defenceless, almost within hail of an exasperated, powerful foe ! Our worthy *protégé*, Hermanus Matroos, was delighted to see his neighbours, into whose midst and upon whose lands he had been obtruded, and who had, till then, looked upon him with jealous dislike, thus goaded. He was a shrewd politician of his kind, and a brave, unscrupulous barbarian. He also believed himself cruelly wronged. He had been hired to fight against his countrymen under our banner in the preceding war, and had been defrauded out of his pay. The nature of his tenure of the land, which had been wrongfully granted to him at the expense of the Hottentots, was made matter of dispute by the Government. An arbitrary tax was imposed upon him, which, as he resided within the Colony, was illegal, because it had no legislative sanction ; and a Mr. Cobb (the history of whose *début* into, and the nature of whose claims upon, the Colonial service would be worth examining) was sent to be superintendent over him, had also Hottentot lands assigned to him, made a species of livelihood by sending the people's cattle to the pound

from their own land, and became a regular nuisance in authority, to Kaffir as well as Hottentot. Such a deep intriguer as Hermanus Matroos found it easy to fish in troubled water. In short, as soon as the match was put to the train in Kaffirland, Kat River was in a blaze ! Rebellion was rife ! And here let those who have, in the remotest degree, been instrumental in promoting this consummation, either by tyranny or oppression, instigation or fomentation, exult in their success. Behold the horrors produced ! It is said that nothing justifies rebellion except success, but this rebellion was purely atrocious. No, it was worse : it was a stupid affair ; for success was utterly impossible. No punishment could be too severe for the rebel, and no one could be less excusable than Andries Botha ; for his whole history, his character, and his meritorious service, as I have this day depicted them, ought to have placed him above suspicion. Whether he was guilty or not, when the verdict of a jury was obtained, you had the power to hang him ; but I deny your right, under the plea of mercy, to torture him to death by inches, and prolonging for a couple of years the miserable existence of a man of upwards of seventy in chains—

PRESIDENT.—That cannot be ; nothing but custody—

Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM.—I tell the House that he has been kept in chains since his condemnation, and the pretext of safe custody cannot be advanced, for he is admitted to be the most orderly, submissive, respectable man on the establishment. I regret that the Hon. the Attorney-General is not present to say something about the legality of these chains, and to tell us whether, in the late searching inquiry as to who were rebels and who not, the faintest shadow of a confirma-

tion of his guilt has been discovered. He knows well that I should hang a rebel ; but if it be rebellion to feel for such a man—"nothing but a Hottentot," whom I have seen fighting and suffering for my Sovereign and my country, as I have seen him do, when I hear of his tottering on the brink of the grave, borne down by age, by misfortune, and by the weight of fetters beyond the requirement or the permission of the law—I say, if feeling for such a man be rebellion, I admit myself a rebel to the core. In this state Sir H. Smith left this Colony, and so Sir G. Cathcart found it. The character that came before the latter inspired all with hope : but he is also gone ; and people ask each other at every turn, "What is become of him, and what has he done?" For my own part I am not hypocrite enough to conceal my unmixed regret and astonishment at his absence at this moment. His departure on the very eve of the first meeting of the first Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, and in our present political predicament, must be the result of the most urgent emergency, of some irresistible necessity, of which this country in general can form no sort of conception ; for England is not so poor in statesmen and in soldiers as to warrant the supposition that the political equilibrium of Europe or any Eastern or Western question can be dependent on any one single individual leaving us in the lurch at such a crisis : nor can we flatter ourselves that we are such perfect masters of some of the subjects on which we are likely to be called upon to legislate, as to render it matter of indifference whether we are to have the benefit of the light and information with which we might have been favoured by such a man as Sir G. Cathcart is represented to be by those who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with his character and abilities.

He is admitted by many to have most successfully administered the affairs of South Africa, and to have placed our foreign relations on a most satisfactory footing ; and I am free to confess that some of the views and principles which I have seen in print as emanating from that source excited my warm admiration and commanded my unqualified assent. Indeed, it was impossible to see it proclaimed on such authority, though it implied a melancholy admission, that the time had arrived for justice being done to all parties,—to hear it frankly avowed—not without bitter sarcasm on some of our loving caresses—that popularity founded on the momentary caprice of the mass, gained by the sacrifice of principle to expediency, and turned to any other account than that of being instrumental for the public good, is beneath the dignity of a great and a wise man,—to find it boldly admitted, with that moral courage which never fails to extort respect, that the enemies with whom we had been in conflict were reasonable animals, possessed of the virtues as well as the vices of the barbarian, fellow-beings of Christians, creatures of the same God, with souls to be lost or saved, and not mere wolves for extermination,—to be told upon the most undoubted authority that there was a grand benevolent scheme in embryo, which was to substitute the schoolmaster for the smuggler of gunpowder and brandy and wine, the minister of the Gospel for the incendiary, the distribution of the Bible for the hawker of firelocks, and the cottage and the cornfield for the horrors of vagrancy ; that, in fact, the principles involved in an opinion of the Attorney-General of this Colony which had been put before me by a Committee of the House of Commons were going to be acted upon,—and finally, that with all this moral reformation, there re-

mained guaranteed to us that physical force, that protection to which we are entitled from the mother-country, which was entailed upon that country by a chain of errors for which we are in no way responsible, and without which protection every philanthropic effort must prove not only futile, but injurious. I say, it was impossible to see, to hear, to believe all this without being delighted at the prospect of becoming even a very secondary auxiliary in support of such objects and principles! Objects and principles, mind, which my constituents have as much at heart as either the Governor or myself, else I could not be here. Yes, I emphatically repeat and insist upon it, that the majority of the people of this country desire to see justice done to all parties, without reference to colour, class, or religion. My objects and principles, at least, are well understood, and I am here in consequence of them. I, therefore, deem it a severe blow to our prospects, and a misfortune to Parliament, that we are not to have the prime mover in this great moral as well as material reformation, to appeal to in case of doubt, as to how far those avowed objects and principles are carried out and adhered to; for I have not the happiness of being one of those who rest with implicit faith on the state of our borders. I hope to God I may be mistaken, but I fancy I see an accumulation of combustibles heaped around us, which it will take all the ability of our rulers to prevent any talented desperado setting in a blaze at any time. Almost every man who has come from the East who opens his mouth on the subject, talks of the volcano on which we are standing, in spite of all the flattering addresses by which the Governor may prove to the Secretary of State that all is peace and contentment, and that we are quite strong enough to take care of ourselves; and I trust that it is not necessary

to impress upon those who are likely to have the chief share in the management of the public purse-strings the tremendous interest involved in the question which I, at least, cannot approach without fear and trembling. In the meantime, the Governor is gone, and who can tell us where the volcano is hidden, and how its explosion is to be prevented. The Kat River rebellion, he tells us in his Minute of the 20th May, 1853, is entirely extinct. I am glad to hear it from such high authority ; but does Sir G. Cathcart believe that any rebellion can be entirely extinct before the causes are removed, or the discontented exterminated? Is it not perfectly well known that not only are there numbers of rebels congregated beyond the frontier, but that many loyal, discontented families, driven from their lands, are emigrating, and very likely with the rebels, to place themselves under the protection of the Basuto Chief Moshesh, who is doing his best to strengthen himself for future emergencies, and whose power and abilities we so recently experienced to our cost, although Sir G. Cathcart thinks he was "severely punished," after, as His Excellency tells us, the "by no means ill-disposed chief" was wantonly vexed and annoyed by us! The rebellion, therefore, is not extinct. Of its causes the Governor took care to know nothing. All England, as far as it could be heard, clamoured for the minutest inquiry into these causes. The Colonial Minister, Earl Grey, thus pressed, sent out, at enormous expense, two Assistant High Commissioners, and whatever may be said of this step, nothing can be clearer than that his Lordship honestly desired to get at the said causes ; for in a Despatch which he wrote to the then Governor, Sir H. Smith, dated 11th June, 1851, there is this passage which I read :—

“3. I call your attention to this point, because I am of opinion that eventually, though perhaps not before the active operations of the war are brought to a close, it will be necessary to institute an inquiry into the causes of the disaffection of the Kat River settlers, and others of the coloured inhabitants of the Colony, in so formal a manner as to render those persons who may give evidence on the subject responsible for the truth of what they state, and liable to punishment for perjury for any false evidence they may give. No such inquiry can, of course, be allowed to interfere with any judicial proceedings which may be instituted against those who may have been implicated in the rebellion; but statements have been made with respect to the causes of the discontent which has led to the revolt of these settlers, which are of too serious a character to be passed over without the most strict investigation. I allude more particularly to the statements contained in Sir A. Stockenstrom's letter to Mr. Montagu of the 11th of July last, which was transmitted to me in your Despatch, No. 176, of the 30th of November. It seems to me, at least, doubtful whether it could be satisfactorily conducted without imposing upon all those who may be called upon to give evidence a legal responsibility for its truth.”

The whole of this Colony was equally loud in its demand for inquiry into the causes, so that Sir H. Smith found it necessary to appoint a Commission, composed of four of the best men in the country, who so completely commanded public confidence and respect, that the universal cry was, “We shall get at the truth now.” Lord Grey, upon being informed of this appointment, in the following letter dated 14th August, 1851, shows his determination so pointedly to find out the “causes,” that

he not only sanctions the Commission, but suggests that his Assistant Commissioners might be added to it :—

“Downing Street, August 14, 1851.

“SIR,—I have to acknowledge your Despatch, No. 130, of the 12th June last, reporting your appointment of a Commission to inquire into the cause of the rebellion of the Kat River Hottentots, and enclosing a proclamation to that effect.

“Lord Palmerston has signified to me his approval of the appointment of Mr. Surtees as a Commissioner.

“I have only, on this important subject, to refer you to my Despatch of the 11th June last, respecting the appointment of Major Hogge and Mr. Owen, in which I have fully explained to you my views as to the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the cause of the rebellion of so many of the Hottentot population. You will, no doubt, before you can receive this Despatch, have considered whether it is advisable to add their names to the Commission you had already appointed, or to avail yourself of their services for other objects. I trust also you will have carefully considered whether it is not necessary that the Commissioners should be invested by law with the power of requiring the attendance of witnesses, and with other powers necessary for the effective conduct of the inquiry with which they are charged.” *

He emphatically repeats his orders for inquiry into the causes, in a second letter of the same date, thus :—

“It is with very great concern that I have received this account of the further revolt among the Hottentot

* “Correspondence with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the state of the Kaffir Tribes, and to the recent Outbreak on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony,” 1852, p. 239.

population. It affords, however, an additional proof of the necessity of a rigid inquiry being at once instituted into the causes of this defection." *

In the meantime, the Commission appointed by Sir H. Smith was set aside, a measure which considerably alarmed the friends of truth and justice in England, and caused a letter to be addressed to the Colonial Minister by the London Missionary Society, dated 20th December, 1851, in which we find the following passage :—

"The Directors are fully aware that your Lordship has, in a degree, anticipated these inquiries by the appointment of Major Hogge and Mr. Owen as Commissioners to investigate the case; but they must respectfully submit, that far greater satisfaction and real advantage would result from an inquiry conducted by the Civil Commissioners nominated by His Excellency the Governor previously to the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch appointing the aforesaid gentlemen. That Commission consisted, as your Lordship is aware, of Messrs. Porter, Rutherford, Surtees, and Major Hope. These gentlemen being all members or friends of the Government, afforded a sufficient guarantee for their faithful regard to its interests and rights, while the fact of their being *civilians*, long resident in the Colony, acquainted with its native population, and held in high respect by all classes of society, invested them with an influence which could not but have proved highly beneficial." †

This letter was sent to Sir H. Smith under cover of the following Despatch from Lord Grey :—

* "Correspondence," &c., p. 239.

† *Ibid.*, p. 240.

“Downing Street, December 29, 1851.

“SIR,—I transmit to you a copy of a letter addressed to me by the Secretary to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, requesting that the Commission of Inquiry which you had nominated to investigate the case of the Kat River Settlement on the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, but which you revoked upon the arrival in the Colony of the Assistant Frontier Commissioners appointed from this country, may be again nominated for that special object ; and I have to request, that you will report to me your opinion on the subject, and the steps you may have found it advisable to adopt.*

“I am, &c.,

“GREY.”

The intention, determination, and positive orders, to inquire into the causes were therefore explicit. All parties here and in the mother-country had made up their minds on that subject, and were backed by a positive law, dated 16th December, 1851, appointing a Commission to inquire into the “origin, objects, nature, and extent of the rebellion.” But Sir G. Cathcart believed himself entitled to set all this, law and all, at naught ; for in page 14 of his Minute he tells us that he has appointed a special Commission, and that the “object of this investigation is not as to the origin of the rebellion, or any retrospective inquiries, further than may be conducive to the present practical settlement of that district,” which can have no other meaning than that the whole truth should not be known, but only so much as should enable him to seize certain lands. Having decided that the voice of England, of the Cape of Good Hope, of his lawful superior, and of the law itself, should

* “Correspondence,” &c., pp. 250, 251.

not be listened to, he believes himself qualified to decide the question, without the only inquiry which would have so qualified him, and tells you, in page 6, that the Kat River "might be considered as the soil in which the seed of the rebellion had principally been sown, or spontaneously germinated." This hypothesis, this potential mood, is certainly a strange basis for the decision of so vital a question, which involved extensive arbitrary confiscations of property ; and if you refer back to page 14, you will find it dogmatically decided that the Kat River Settlement "has proved, not only a failure, but attended with dangerous and inconvenient consequences, prejudicial alike to the inhabitants themselves and to the community at large." The weight of this opinion, formed after the inquiry, which alone could elicit the truth, was forbidden. I leave to the House to compare the value due to the statements of the many respectable, eminent men to whom I had occasion to refer, and who did not think inquiry an unnecessary preliminary to decision. We have now got to the confiscations, and I defy any lawyer to tell me that those of Sir G. Cathcart are legal. Hang the rebels as fast as you can obtain verdicts. If they are guilty, they deserve it ; but I ask you to show me any law or principle of law or equity which authorises any Governor, or Secretary of State, or the Crown itself, to confiscate any man's property, even that of the greatest criminal, without the intervention of either judge or jury.

Mr. DE WET.—They cannot do it.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM.—I am much obliged to my hon. and learned friend for backing my position with his valuable opinion. I know that the whole proceeding is illegal, from first to last ; and if it be so with reference to the property of rebels, what must it be with reference

to that of loyal men, widows, and orphans, who, upon the plea of absenteeism, or non-compliance with conditions which have long been cancelled, have been robbed of their all! It is rumoured that Parliament is coolly, or rather audaciously, expected to meet some of the cases by legislation. What safety is there for any man's possessions if such a course is possible? I have heard it propounded as a maxim, that Parliament is omnipotent, even to make the most tyrannical laws; but I trust that we acknowledge responsibility to one tribunal, even if man should forgive us. This applies to cases where there are title deeds; as for others, it will not be the first time that Government will take advantage of its own wrong, and seize a man's land upon the pretext of his having no title deed, knowing that its own neglect or mismanagement is the cause of that defect. Talk of absentees, indeed!—if you smoke a man out of your house, have you a right to complain when he makes himself scarce? But the most amusing argument for some of these illegal confiscations is the non-compliance with the conditions of the tenure, as if it were not notorious to the most bigoted hater of the Settlement, even if Sir B. D'Urban had not cancelled those conditions, that three wars and the trials which I have detailed rendered compliance utterly impossible. I have shown the House that I gave to the English and Dutch inhabitants three or four times as much of the ceded territory as I gave to the Hottentots. On the former I imposed the condition that every grantee should be bound to keep at all times upon his allotment four men capable of bearing arms against the enemy, two of whom were to protect the stock of the field, one to guard the homestead and the family, and the fourth to be constantly in readiness to go on Commando or co-operate

with the military. Now the House will have an opportunity to inquire whether this condition has been insisted upon, and whether any confiscation has followed non-compliance, and if not—as I know to be the fact—I ask you, and I ask the world, what name you are to give to this distinction between the white, comparatively rich man, and the poor, helpless Hottentot? The House will, of course, inquire as to the disposal of the confiscated lands, and also into the claims of the fortunate individuals to whom they have been granted. Just before I rose to address you, the Clerk happened to deliver into my hands a paper purporting to be a “Report by the Deputy Surveyor-General, dated 6th July, 1854, upon the nature and progress of Sir G. Cathcart’s plans for the settlement of the eastern frontier,” in which paper I read the following passage:—“But it is not, perhaps, altogether irregular to remark, whilst on the subject of the occupation of a settlement of so notorious a character, that it is generally believed, and it is an opinion to which I wholly subscribe, that, had the excellent regulations and conditions of occupation drawn out by the founder been carried out, the late miserable rebellion and confusions would not have occurred.” This is very flattering to me; but, whilst I am thankful, I cannot accept the compliment, for the opinion is erroneous. I have shown that my conditions were cancelled by Sir B. D’Urban from the most benevolent of motives, and the settlement continued, in spite of the most adverse circumstances, to prosper beyond the most sanguine expectations of its friends, up to the war of 1846, and after the moral reformation of Sir H. Pottinger, so consistently followed up, the most “excellent regulations and conditions” that human wisdom could have contrived would not have prevented the results which followed as a matter of course.

Here I cannot omit to allude to the case of the missionaries ; but I must be well understood distinctly to repudiate all pretensions to the championship of these men. They are quite competent to defend and take care of themselves. They do not require, and have never asked for my aid. The House knows that I am no missionary. I do not belong to any missionary society, nor have I any connection with any one of them. I respect a missionary only in proportion as he is worthy of his calling. I have myself known foolish and mischievous missionaries, who have injured their own cause as well as that of others ; and I should much sooner hang a rebel missionary, than a rebel Hottentot. But I believe the cause a sacred one ; and I firmly believe that a dozen wise and sincere missionaries, well supported, would have kept the peace better than all your bayonets and millions have done. Nor can I, as an honest man and a Christian, passively stand by and hear the vilest slander poured forth against a set of men whose piety, whose loyalty, whose sacrifices, and whose sufferings in the cause of religion, humanity, and order I have been eye-witness to. I have, for instance, seen a statement, which will also come under the observation of the House, if I carry my motion, giving one of these reverend gentlemen the credit of saving the lives of a number of white men, and in the same breath bespattering him with the vague, indefinite, and unfounded charge of indiscretion, perhaps for noting down the lamentations of some fellow-being groaning under the weight of the arm of power ! But, worst of all, I find some of these divines assailed by a brother minister of the Gospel. This personage I had occasion to refer to last Monday, in consequence of a notice with which he has honoured myself. He has generously published to the world the *harmless* insinuation, that

although he is too charitable "for an instant to believe that any missionary would deliberately encourage rebellion," "he can easily understand that their whole system and teaching might lead to it."* Now the deep and left-hand wound here intended to be inflicted I parry with a flat contradiction. I have nothing to do with London and Glasgow missionaries more than with any other sect ; but I have something to do with truth and justice : and as the Bishop not long since, in a squabble with some of his flock in Port Elizabeth, who had charged an Archdeacon with preaching unsound and Puseyite doctrine, insisted upon their telling him the very words in which that doctrine had been propounded,—his Lordship need not be surprised if the world shall expect him, in so grave a charge against his fellow-labourers in God's field, to quote the very words of their teaching which might lead to rebellion. Let him remember, as I have said before, that besides being a high dignitary, he stands in the position of a gentleman ; and if he trusts that any strong arm of flesh can raise him above public opinion, there still remains a tribunal before which that arm will be found of less avail than a broken reed. One word more, and I have done with the missionaries. I have been told that an honourable member in another place has quoted me as his authority for a charge that the missionary institutions are sinks of iniquity, vice, and crime. I have already stated that I am no advocate for foolish and mischievous missionaries, and as little would I defend any sink of iniquity, vice, and crime, under the mask of a missionary institution ; but as I have never seen the said honourable member, he must have my testimony in manuscript or in print, and I should therefore hope that, the next time he honours me with

* *Vide* Appendix I.

such an appeal, he will have the goodness to quote chapter and verse. But now, the House will remember that the rebellion was chiefly stirred up by "men who pulled the wires at a distance." This is a fact; and as the honourable and learned Attorney-General has now taken his seat, I can tell him there is very little use in hanging rebel Hottentots unless he hang these "wire-pullers" first. He understands his duty, and will do it; for I can put him on the scent of the delinquents. The accusation had an official source. The accusers, conscious of having thrown the country into war, rebellion, and ruin, thought it a clever contrivance to shift the blame to the shoulders of missionaries and others, who, they knew, would not dare to expose the true causes of the calamity, and whom they accused of pulling the wires which they themselves had strained by mismanagement and oppression. There, then, I tell you, the accusers are the real delinquents—the "wire-pullers." Catch them and hang them, else there never can be peace. Let no one tell you that the Frontier is out of danger: you have heard the speeches of those who ought to know. There is not a black man south of the tropic who trusts you, or would not turn against you as soon as he should see a chance of crushing you. Every friend you had, you have turned into an exasperated foe. If I, Sir, possessed your powers of language, or that of your brother lawyer on your left, I should draw a picture which, if it failed to move this House, would, at least, make posterity stare; but that is beyond my grasp, and I must content myself with stammering through simple facts. Here I must close, for I have hardly strength left to beseech this House to support me in obtaining the papers I require, and in producing that searching investigation which has hitherto been evaded, and which

I deem the only certain preventive of a renewal of our periodical wars, disorders, and miseries. I beg, therefore, to move,—That an Address be presented to His Honour the Lieut.-Governor, that he may be pleased to cause to be laid on the table of this House copies of—

1. All papers and correspondence between the Government and the Commissioner-General, in 1829, 1830, and 1831, respecting the formation of the Hottentot Settlements on the Kat River.
2. The instructions issued to the late Assistant Surveyor-General Hertzog, when he proceeded to the Frontier, in 1831, to survey and allocate the lands of that Settlement ; his correspondence with the Government whilst discharging that duty, together with his reports thereon.
3. Any minute or instruction of the late Sir Benjamin D'Urban, releasing the Kat River settlers, at the close of the Kaffir war of 1835, from the obligation of erecting substantial buildings on their respective allotments before receiving their title deeds.
4. A copy of the title deeds issued to some of the said settlers, in consequence of said release, by order of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.
5. All papers and correspondence respecting the alienation, in 1835 or 1836, of the lower part of the Kat River Settlements to the Kaffir Chief Hermanus, Captain Campbell, Major Armstrong, Mr. Fuller, and Major Blakeway.
6. Any minute or instruction from the Government to Mr. Biddulph, respecting his inquiry into, and reporting upon, the state of the said Settlement on assuming the office of magistrate and superintendent, in 1847 ; together with a copy of his report.
7. The correspondence between the Government and

the said Mr. Biddulph respecting the imposition of a timber tax on the Kat River forests, during his superintendence.

8. All papers and correspondence relative to the imposition of certain tax upon the Kaffir Chief Hermanus and his followers, for the Hottentot lands allotted to him on the lower Kat River ; showing the amount of tax received, and how that amount was appropriated.
9. All correspondence respecting the locating of Fingoes, in 1849, on the Hottentot lands in the valley of the Mancazana branch of the Kat River ; together with a return of the amount paid into the Colonial treasury in the name of quit rent ; and how that amount was appropriated.
10. All papers and correspondence connected with the following Commissions, relative to affairs in the Kat River, issued by Sir H. Smith, in 1850, viz. :—
 1. Commission or letter of instruction to Mr. Wienand.
 2. Commission or letter of instruction to Messrs. Calderwood and Brownlee.
 3. Commission or letters of instruction to Messrs. Godlonton, Blakeway, Gilbert, and Bovey.
11. Copies of the reports of the several Commissions above named ; the evidence taken ; and the measures on the part of the Government consequent thereon.
12. All papers, correspondence, and record of proceedings respecting the forcible removal or expulsion, by Kaffir Police, in June, 1850, of Goonas and others from the Kat River Settlement.
13. Copy of the Commission issued to Messrs. Porter,

Rutherfoord, Hope, and Surtees, in 1851, to inquire into the causes of the Kat River rebellion ; together with any correspondence connected with the withdrawal or cancelling of that Commission.

14. Copy of the report and record of the proceedings of the Commission appointed by Ordinance No. 7, dated 16th December, 1851, to inquire, among other matters, "Into the origin, objects, nature, and extent of the rebellion then existing of divers inhabitants of the Kat River Settlement and missionary institution of Theopolis," in the Division of Albany, and of other places upon the eastern Frontier of the Colony.
15. Copy of the Commission and instructions issued, in 1853, to Assistant High Commissioner Owen, and Messrs. Ebdon and Calderwood, to inquire into and report upon the extent to which erfholders in the Kat River Settlement had been implicated in the late rebellion ; together with their report, and the evidence taken ; and any other document connected with that Commission.
16. All documents and record of proceedings respecting land confiscated or forfeited in the Kat River Settlement in consequence of rebellion or any other cause, and alienated or granted to others ; specifying the names of the parties whose lands are thus confiscated or forfeited ; the grounds of confiscation or forfeiture ; together with the names and claims of the parties to whom those lands are now granted, or to be granted.

Mr. GODLONTON rose to second the motion of the honourable baronet, as, after the statement he had made, and the views he had exhibited, it was utterly

impossible the Council should refuse the inquiry which he appeared so anxious to obtain. Had he indulged a doubt before, that doubt was removed after what had fallen from the honourable baronet. He must not be misunderstood, however: he did not by any means concur with him in opinion on the mooted questions, and should be prepared, when the time came for discussion, to show that many of the statements which they had just heard were not founded on good and sufficient evidence. The whole of the case presented by the honourable baronet was, it must be borne in mind, *ex parte*, and being so, he could not permit it to pass current to the world without offering one or two remarks upon it. The honourable baronet was, indeed, not very consistent with himself, and therefore it would not be expected that what he had advanced was to be received as admitted fact. He had, for instance, told them of the wonderful advances of the Hottentots of the Kat River in civilisation, of the rapid improvements they had made in that locality, and of many other matters which went to show their loyalty and good conduct.* He had told them of the high testimony borne to these facts by governors, judges, magistrates, superintendents of education, ministers of religion, and other official men, and yet, in the same breath, he speaks of oppression, of the treatment received by these people, and of their being goaded by ill-treatment into the frightful and atrocious rebellion in which they had been involved, perpetrating those deeds of blood and spoliation, and spreading that wide ruin on the Frontier, from which the inhabitants had not yet recovered. By whom, then, had these people been so oppressed as to commit these frightful excesses? The high functionaries, the honourable

* *Vide* Appendix B. 1-10.

baronet had shown, were the friends of these people. He had also stated that he was the author of the 50th Ordinance, an Act which not merely placed the Hottentots on an equality with the rest of the community, but which gave them exclusive privileges. By whom, then, he asked, were they oppressed? Surely they could not complain of labouring under any local disabilities, for they had been placed in possession of perhaps the finest tract of country in South Africa—a tract possessing greater capabilities than perhaps any part of the Colony, and yet, with all these advantages, they were, forsooth, an oppressed people, and had been goaded into the atrocious rebellion in which they had been involved. Did the honourable baronet mean to say that the British settlers on the Frontier or English inhabitants had goaded them into rebellion? If he meant this to be implied, then he had to tell the honourable baronet that he stood there as their representative, and dared him to the proof. He challenged him to bring against them, as a body, a single case of oppression which could warrant, in any way, the frightful excesses which had been committed by the people whose cause he had espoused. All the sympathies of the honourable baronet appears to be enlisted on the side of the Hottentots—the aggressors; but had he none for the plundered Frontier farmers? Was no sympathy to be felt for their ruined families?—for delicate women and little children who had been driven from their homes—whose dwellings had been fired, and who had been forced into the fields, beggars and outcasts? and all this by the atrocious acts of those for whom such endeavours were now made to enlist the public sympathy. He objected strongly to the prejudgment of the case before the production of the papers on which it was to be established; but after the train of

remark in which the honourable baronet had indulged, he felt it was due to the public that the matter should have a searching investigation, and in which, he assured the honourable baronet, none would afford him more zealous assistance than himself. In the meantime, he trusted the country would not take as granted what had been advanced on the other side. The whole case must be heard, and when that was done he had no fear as to the result.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM rose in explanation.—He had never mentioned the British settlers, nor had he stated that he was the author of the 50th Ordinance.

Mr. GODLONTON admitted that the honourable baronet had not mentioned the British settlers in direct terms, but he had a right to assume that he had pointed to them. The honourable baronet had dwelt upon the high eulogium which had been passed by Government functionaries on the Hottentots. These, therefore, could not be the oppressors, and hence it was natural to turn to another class, and the more especially as it was against that class that the fury of the Hottentot rebels was more especially directed. They were to be driven into the sea. It had been broadly stated by the Hottentots, at the outset of the rebellion, and it was found recorded in their writings, that it was not against the Government the rebellion was directed, but against the English inhabitants, who were to be destroyed and driven into the sea, as their enemies and oppressors. He had a right, therefore, to assume that his remarks were directed at them, and not at those to whom he had referred in terms of approval. With regard to the honourable baronet's disclaimer of having used the word author in reference to the 50th Ordinance, that point was, in his opinion, a matter of great indifference. He

had shown them a memorandum of his own, which he declared was the origin of the enactment in question. In reference to such a point, the word author, origin, and source, were entirely synonymous. He, therefore, conceded the point, and was quite willing the honourable baronet should take that which he might consider to be the most appropriate.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM, in reply, said :—I feel myself utterly unable to do more than appeal to the House whether I did or did not call myself the “author of the 50th Ordinance.” I said that that memorandum of mine was the origin of that Ordinance, that it was by Sir R. Bourke placed in the hands of Mr. Justice Burton, who, perhaps very wisely, drew an Ordinance more extended and complicated than I had contemplated. So, likewise, must I leave the House to say, whether I as much as used the term “British settlers,” or in the remotest degree alluded to that section of our fellow-subjects. The honourable gentleman opposite calls himself their representative. I believe I also represent them. I feel honoured in doing so. And I take this opportunity of calling upon the honourable member to state one single instance in which I have ever, either as a private individual or as a public functionary, attempted to injure the British settlers; and more, that I have ever had it in my power, in either capacity, to serve them without doing so. In the whole of my address I have had to deal with the measures of Government and its officers. Why the honourable member should make this a “Settlers’ question” he may best explain.

FAVOURABLE NOTICES OF THE KAT RIVER
SETTLEMENT.

1. *Letter in the 'Graham's Town Journal,' signed R. G.
(the Hon'ble Robert Godlonton, M.L.C.)*

When we find a people uniting their efforts to attain an important object, the result must be a matter of general interest, and furnishes a fit subject for record in the columns of a public journal.

Impressed with this conviction, I shall make no apology for bringing to your notice the present state of the lately established Settlement of the Kat River, or for detailing a few particulars which have been gleaned during a recent visit to that interesting part of the Colony.

This Settlement is situated within that mountainous range from whence issue the several streams, which, uniting lower down, form the Kat River. Until the early part of 1829, this tract, although part of ceded territory, was occupied by the Kaffirs under the Chief Macomo, who were then driven out by orders of Government, in consequence of their wanton and cruel attacks on the neighbouring Tambookies, under the Chiefs Gelela and Powana, many of whom were pursued, plundered, and mercilessly slaughtered within the Colonial boundary. When it had been thus cleared, it became necessary that the country should be at once appropriated amongst the Colonists, as the only effectual bar to its re-occupation by these restless marauders. The propriety of a concentrated population was equally apparent, and hence it was offered exclusively to Hot-

tentots and other free persons of colour, as being the most suitable class of the community to answer the end proposed by its colonisation.

The country thus peopled is singularly isolated. Separated from the other parts of the Colony by the loftiest and most inaccessible mountains in this part of Southern Africa, it can only be approached at certain points over their summits, or by a road following the sinuosities of a narrow opening between them, where a succession of views present themselves which have all the claims usually attending mountain scenery.

Rocks, mounds, and knolls confusedly hurl'd,
The fragments of an earlier world.

Stupendous mountains on either hand, in many parts crowned with over-hanging precipices of naked rocks—beneath, deep chasms of ravines clothed with forest timber, frequently of immense growth, of ever-verdant foliage, while in other places waterfalls of great beauty, give variety and an appearance of animation to the surrounding objects.

I had no opportunity of ascertaining the height of these mountains, but the nature of the country and other circumstances indicate that their elevation above the level of the sea is very considerable. During the winter months they are often covered with snow; at such seasons, to venture to climb their summits would be attended with great danger, and even at more favourable periods, it is not altogether without hazard. In illustration of this, I may give the following relation, which was made to me by a respectable inhabitant:—

“A party of Hottentots, consisting of three or four persons, while crossing this range, were overtaken by a storm. The clouds descending enveloped them in so dense a vapour that they became utterly bewildered,

and at length total darkness rendered every further attempt to proceed extremely hazardous. Benumbed by the cold, without fuel for a fire, they threw themselves prostrate, to avoid the fury of the blast, and, clasping each other, they endeavoured by that means to counteract the intense cold, from the paralysing effects of which they were suffering. In this way the night was passed; but when morning flung its rays over the scene, one poor fellow was found dead in the embraces of his comrades, and the rest were so exhausted that they with great difficulty succeeded at length in reaching a habitation."

When the traveller gains the centre of the Settlement, so vast are the objects surrounding him, that the space included within this range of mountains appears exceedingly limited, and it is not till he proceeds to visit the different locations that he can persuade himself of the great extent of country comprised within their boundary.

The soil of the valleys is enriched by alluvial deposits carried down from time to time by the rains from the acclivitous sides of the mountains, and when to this is added the abundance of water flowing in every direction, and so situated, that not only all the low lands may be readily irrigated, but even to some height up the sides of the hills, it will easily be imagined that advantages are presented for agriculture which are not, perhaps, surpassed by any other part of the Colony.

The population of the Settlement may be estimated at 1,500 inhabitants, consisting of Bastards, Hottentots, natives of the countries beyond the Colonial boundaries, and a few whites. At its first establishment the line of policy adopted by Government was judicious, and well calculated to promote the ultimate success of the under-

taking. Assistance was very sparingly afforded, and the people were led to depend more on individual exertion than to expect extraneous aid from any quarter whatever. Due attention was, however, paid to their moral improvement, and in the selection of a minister, the choice has fallen upon an individual every way suitable. Of mild and conciliatory manners, his pastoral duties are not circumscribed by the mere discharge of the clerical functions ; but he is the arbiter of disputes, and by his means are assuaged those "thousand ills which flesh is heir to."

Fortunately for human nature the "Man of Ross" is a character not yet extinct in the world.

Is any sick ? The Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes and gives.
Is there a variance ? enter but his door,
Baulk'd are the courts, and contest is no more.

The resident missionary is also a person of great activity and information, and well qualified to give the effort of the people a right elucidation.

For some time after their arrival the people had to struggle with difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, and the circumstances alone of their being placed in possession of a country from whence a powerful tribe of Kaffirs had been just driven, under feelings exasperated to the highest pitch at the expulsion, and who did not scruple to declare their fixed determination to obtain compensation by reprisals on the Colonists, was in itself sufficient to depress the ardour of the sanguine, and to deter the timid from placing themselves in a situation so extremely precarious. But notwithstanding the repeated inroads of those people, the intrepidity displayed on such occasions by the inhabitants of the Settlement, the rapidity with which they pursued the depredators when-

ever cattle were carried off, and their peculiar shrewdness in tracking them to the kraal of the plunderer, have so successfully counteracted such attacks, that they are now shunned by their marauding neighbours, as being a people whom it is not altogether prudent to meddle with.

The stock they at present possess consists of 200 horses and mares ; 2,200 horned cattle ; and 6,000 sheep and goats ; they have also amongst them 35 bullock waggons. In giving this estimate it will at once be perceived that, in comparison to the population, the amount possessed by each individual is very inconsiderable ; and it therefore follows that the final success of the Settlement must altogether depend on the degree of industry brought into exercise by them. Hitherto great activity has been displayed ; and the incipient marks of civilisation observable in every direction, clearly indicate that, where no impediments oppress, they are capable of attaining a respectable station in the ranks of society. During the last season were produced on the Settlement 450 muids of wheat, 1,500 muids of barley, and 400 muids of Indian corn, besides large quantities of Kaffir corn, potatoes, pumpkins, sweetcane, and many other edibles of a minor character. Independently of the labour required in the cultivation of the soil, instances of uncommon exertion and perseverance are manifested in the construction of channels, which convey water to their fields and gardens. In some places they have been carried through the solid rock ; in others it has been necessary to cut to the depth of twelve feet, to preserve the level ; while their entire length throughout all the locations is upwards of twenty thousand yards.

The prevailing vice of the Hottentot is an inordinate desire for spirituous liquors, and their immoderate use

has hitherto operated as a tremendous curse, spreading degradation and wretchedness around them, and entailing the like misery on their unfortunate progeny. At length, however, this fatal evil has been arrested in its progress ; and if the formation of a "*Temperance Society*" on the Frontier had been productive of no other good, the check which it has here given to the use of ardent spirits would be in itself sufficient to stamp it as an institution which is well entitled to the high eulogiums bestowed upon it. If to lessen the sum of human misery be praiseworthy, and if to promote the welfare of mankind at large be desirable, then ought a society, whose sole aim is to attain this end, by means the most unexceptionable and unpretending, to receive in its favour the united suffrages of every lover of his species. It is said that amongst its members may be enumerated twelve hundred persons residing on this Settlement ; and although it is not pretended that intemperance is entirely vanished, yet it may be asserted that the habitual use of intoxicating liquors is now looked upon in a disreputable light, and that instances of drunkenness are of very rare occurrence.

The following anecdote, which I heard during my visit, being in point, I may be pardoned for stating it :— On a late Commando into Kaffirland, a large party of the inhabitants of this Settlement were associated with the military ; they were directed to assemble at the Post above the Chumie, where they received the supplies usually furnished to those proceeding on services of this nature. When, however, they were offered an allowance of spirits, one of their number waited upon the officer in command, and, in the name of his comrades, requested that in lieu of *liquor*, the value of it might be given in *biscuit*. The important consequences that must result to society from this improved state of feeling it is quite

impossible to calculate ; but when we take into account that, in all probability, the rising generation will thereby escape the pollution and wretchedness which are the invariable concomitants of an early initiation into the practice of dram-drinking, we may easily anticipate that the advantages arising to posterity from this measure will be of the highest importance, not only to those saved from a state of degradation, but to the community at large.

It must not be supposed that, amidst such a large and such a condensed population, there do not exist many causes of complaint, or that the correcting hand of the legislator might not employ itself there with great advantage. One great hindrance to the progress of their improvements is the excessive poverty of the great bulk of the people. Many are utterly destitute ; and this alone, where property creates but little distinction of intercourse, will greatly retard those in better circumstances. I am aware that this is a controverted point, and that there are those who contend strongly against this view of the case, but, I conceive, without sufficient grounds to support an opposite hypothesis. Hospitality with the Hottentots is, in general, carried to such an extreme pitch, that it ceases to be a virtue ; and though it may be viewed, in the abstract, as an amiable trait of character, yet when it tends to level every grade of society to one common standard, it loses its sterling character, and degenerates into an evil of very serious magnitude. It cannot be concealed that many, without an article of property, have left service and joined the Settlement, that they might there indulge in habitual sloth and listless inactivity ; and the consequence is, that others who, when they went thither, possessed a decent property, the earnings of their whole lives, have, in the short intervening period, exhausted the whole of it. As

society is here constituted it is difficult to guard effectually against this result ; but if the people had been interspersed without distinction among the other inhabitants, instead of being congregated together as they now are, the danger arising from this cause would have been greatly diminished. Justice was tardy in overtaking them, and the delay has created many obstacles, which operate so injuriously on all classes, that the evil consequences resulting therefrom should be guarded against with never-slumbering vigilance.

In every measure henceforth adopted with regard to these people, a scrupulous care should be taken to counteract that evident tendency manifested by many to revert to their original state of savage life. Even admitting that such a relapse is improbable, nevertheless, in proportion as the feeling is indulged, will the difficulties be increased to the successful issue of such undertakings as the present. Many of the more intelligent inhabitants are alive to this subject, and do not hesitate to reprobate, in strong terms, the sloth and vicious propensities of many around them. Much good may be expected from the efforts and example of persons of this class, who, having themselves attained a respectable station in society, are too sensible of their advantages not to endeavour to retain them.

In turning to the brighter side, it is gratifying to be able to remark that there are numbers among them whose deportment, in all the relations of social life, is of a very high order. Their loyalty and attachment to the British Government are beyond suspicion, and it may not be uninteresting to state, that at the last receipt of taxes, they contributed to the revenue a sum of Rds. 2300. All the ordinances of religion are punctually attended to by them ; whilst in their families, and in the

more public transactions of life, they evince an extensive practical acquaintance with the requirements of Christianity. *Education* is in great repute, and a manifest desire to give their children the benefit of instruction is a feeling everywhere observable.

Two *Infant Schools* have been established, and are well attended. Such a state of feeling cannot be too carefully fostered. It is the germ from whence will spring all the blessings of religious and social order, and the means by which the *cloud of prejudice* still hanging over them will be at length dissipated.

They have been placed in a situation equally critical and conspicuous. With nothing to depend on but their own resources, the whole Colony has watched, with much interest, this experimental test of the capability of the coloured classes to exercise the duties devolving on denizens having a direct and positive interest in the soil they occupy ; and though the difficulties they have had to contend with were arduous and discouraging, they have been found equal to every exigency ; and it must now be admitted that a large measure of success has at length crowned their united efforts.

I am, &c.*

R. G.

4. *Evidence of Col. Wade before the said Committee.*

The settlement of the Hottentots in the Kat River was commenced in the subsequent month of June, 1829, and within one year from that date its progress was most favourably reported of, although the settlers had had drought, horse-sickness, and Kaffir depredations to contend with. These last were attributed principally to the numerous marauders, who, notwithstanding the

* *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, June 27, 1832.

Proclamation of August, 1829, were still lurking in considerable numbers in the skirts of the locations. The progress of the Settlement during the ensuing three years will be best understood by an enumeration of the population, stock, produce, houses built, canals opened, &c., as reported by the Acting Commissioner-General in July, 1833. In 1830 the population consisted of about 900 souls, of whom from 250 to 300 men were available for defensive purposes. In 1833 there were permanently fixed in the location 52 separate parties, constituting, not indeed a population of 5,000, as has been so frequently asserted, but one of 2,114, men, women, and children, for the most part comfortably lodged. They possessed, moreover, 88 riding horses, 142 breeding horses, 2,444 head of cattle, and 4,996 sheep; they had sown 130 and reaped 2,300 muids of wheat and barley; built, besides inferior cottages, 12 substantial stone houses, planted 13 orchards, and completed 55 canals for irrigation, of which 44 measured 141,750 feet, or nearly 24 miles. It may be as well to add, that when I visited the Settlement at the close of 1834, there were available, for defensive purposes, 300 mounted and 451 dismounted men, who were in possession of 438 stand of arms, of which 192 were private property; in this force of 751 men were included, however, some who were not settlers, but natives beyond the boundaries, chiefly the Gonahs, who were in the service of the farmers. To the Colonial Government it appeared that a Settlement which had, thus far, succeeded greatly beyond the most sanguine expectations of those who had planned it, was well worth preserving, and that its inhabitants were entitled to a more than ordinary share of protection. It was an experiment made with the double view of "proving how far the Hottentots could be rendered available in

assisting in the defence of the Frontier in case of actual invasion," but "chiefly in how far they were capable of acquiring a character for good conduct and industrious habits, when left completely to themselves." As regards the former object, at the period I am speaking of, although they had been constantly harassed by, and indeed in almost daily collision with, marauding bands of Kaffirs, they had, fortunately, not been called upon to resist any open attack or general inroad, such as has lately occurred; but with reference to the latter one, the above statement of their progress is the best evidence that they could be industrious, and were as capable of contending with ordinary difficulties as their fellow-men. . . . As already stated, the Kat River people, at the very outset, were exposed, in addition to the usual difficulties settlers have to encounter, to horse-sickness and drought, from both which they suffered severely. These were evils beyond the control of the Colonial Government; but, happily, in the succeeding years, the Settlement was blessed with plentiful rains and luxuriant crops. There still, however, remained other evils, and the most crying ones in the whole catalogue of their grievances, evils that grew with their growth and pressed sore upon them, and for the removal of which they looked to and had a right to expect the interference of the Government. These were, first, the intrusion of hundreds of natives of every shade and denomination from without the Colony, Kaffirs, Fingoes, Bechuanas, Gonahs, &c., &c., and of multitudes of the vagrant portion of their own tribe from within it; secondly, the hourly-increasing vexatious and ruinous depredations, both by theft and trespass, of their Kaffir neighbours.*

* "Report," &c., pp. 288-90.

5. *His Honour the Chief Justice Sir John Wylde's Testimony to the Efficiency of the Hottentot Schools at the Kat River.*

Amongst other members who have had to leave town was the President, who, previous to his departure, was requested by the Committee to inspect, during his circuit, and afterwards to report upon, the state of the schools in the respective districts. The Committee have not yet received that formal report, but have had a most satisfactory parole account of some few schools in the interior, and particularly of those at the missionary stations, and of the school at Uitenhage under the superintendence of Mr. Hyman; while there seems abundant reason for concluding that, in every district town an infant school would be well attended, if only the school-apparatus and qualified teachers could be furnished for their *first* establishment. In the respective Hottentot Settlements on the Kat River it appears that no less than eleven infant schools, or more, have been established; the sons or daughters of several native settlers take charge of the schools as teachers. Five or six of these schools, having an attendance of fifty or sixty children of various ages, tribes, and complexions—Kaffirs, Mantatees, Hottentots, Africanders, &c., &c.—went through the usual exercises of the system, the President reports, with great tact and readiness, fully approving the truth, that the intellectual powers are confined to no tribe, colour, or class of mankind, but God's free gift to all, who, by happy culture, seek to appropriate its blessings.*

* "Fifth Annual Report of the Committee of the S. A. Infant Schools," pp. 12, 13.

6. *Testimony borne by Messrs. Backhouse and Walker,
Members of the Society of Friends.*

14th (Jan. 1839). The meeting of the Kat River Missionary Society, auxiliary to the London Missionary Society, was held, the report of which was very encouraging. Among the speakers were Jan Tzatzoe, the Christian Kaffir Chief, who had visited England a short time previously, several Hottentots, one of whom was of Bushman extraction, and several English. Could the people of Great Britain have seen the effect that has been produced here by the operation of Gospel principle, carried out in Christian instruction, in delivering the people from oppression, and in general education, though but of a rudimentary kind, they would no doubt have joined in the exclamation, "What hath God wrought!" Many of the half-naked, degraded Hottentots had been raised to a state nearly equal to that of the labouring classes in England, and in some respects superior; certainly above that often found in some of the manufacturing districts. They were dressed like decent, plain people of that class; and in the sixteen schools of the Kat River District, which are about half supported by the people themselves, and conducted by native youths, they had about 1,200 scholars, and an attendance of about 1,000. There were many devotional interludes in this meeting, chiefly by singing portions of appropriate hymns, or by the devotional turn which the speeches of those who addressed the meeting took, in which, though benefactors were not forgotten, all the praise and the glory were given to God. A deep sympathy was exhibited for the neighbouring nations yet sitting in darkness, Kaffirs, Bechuanas, and Bushmen, which, at

the close of the meeting, showed itself in a tangible form, by a collection of upwards of £15 towards their help.

15th. The examination of sixteen schools, connected with the London Missionary Society, in the Kat River District, commenced. Some of the schools are at a considerable distance from Philipton, but about 800 children were present. Charles Lennox Stretch, a pious, intelligent man, and the Government Diplomatic Agent at Tyumie Vale, in Kaffraria, was in the chair. The various degrees of progress made by the children were satisfactory, and quite as great as might reasonably be expected. English is taught in all the schools, and the masters, who are native youths of the Hottentot race, have, in most instances, attained considerable proficiency in the language, and in the art of teaching.*

7. *Memorandum on the Kat River Settlement, by J. R. Innes, Esq. LL.D., Superintendent-General of Education.*

1. At the close of the Kaffir war of 1819, a Parole Treaty was entered into by Lord Charles Somerset and the paramount Chief of the Amakosa tribe, Gaika, the father and predecessor of Sandilli.

2. By this treaty, which left the eastern boundary of the Colony the same as that proclaimed by Lord Macartney in 1798, it was provided that the Kaffirs should forthwith give up and retire from the tract of country lying between the Great Fish River and the Kieskamma. It was then occupied by remnants of the Gonaqua Hottentots, or Gonas, the Gaika, Tslambi, and Amagonaquabie, or Kongo Kaffirs.

* "Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa," by James Backhouse, pp. 185-7.

3. This tract was denominated the Neutral Territory, and, by the stipulations of the treaty, was in future to be occupied neither by Colonist nor Kaffir, or, in the language of the Amakosa Chief, "Its waters were to flow undisturbed into the sea." The basin of the Kat River forms the upper and, from its abundance of water, the most fertile part of this tract of country. Its area is about 200 square miles.

4. On the arrival of the British settlers in 1820, and previous to their being located in the Zuurveld (near Albany), the then Acting-Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, obtained the consent of Gaika to occupy this tract of country, which from that time was designated the Ceded Territory. His Excellency's plan then was to locate in the basin of the Kat River the body of emigrant Highlanders, under a Captain Grant, whom he daily expected. This was to form the left flank of a line of defence, which he intended to form by a chain of military posts along the ceded territory, to terminate in another settlement on the Baka (called Frederiksberg), which was to form the right flank of the line.

5. Captain Grant and his body of Highlanders never arrived; the occupation of this part of the line of frontier by a body of hardy and warlike mountaineers was abandoned; and soon after (1822) parties of Kaffirs were permitted to re-occupy portions of the ceded territory undisturbed, so long as they continued to live peaceably among themselves, and desisted from plundering the Frontier inhabitants. It was then that Macomo and his followers were allowed to return to and settle down in the Kat River basin, whilst Tyali took possession of the valley of the Mancazana, a tributary of the Kat River.

6. In 1829, Macomo and his followers were removed

from the Kat River, in consequence of his having attacked a kraal of peaceable Tambookies, plundered them of their cattle, and pursued, with great slaughter, the fugitives into the Tarka, a Frontier district of the Colony. On this occasion, the Commissioner-General of the Eastern Province, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, was despatched from Cape Town, the seat of Government, to carry into effect the expulsion of Macomo from the sources of the Kat River.

7. In April, 1829, the Commissioner-General arrived at Algoa Bay, on his way to the Frontier, to expel Macomo, but with no instructions as to the future occupancy of the Kat River. From Uitenage he first addressed the Government on the subject, and, in due course, received its sanction to occupy the Kat River by a large body of Hottentots, upon the same principle as Sir Rufane Donkin had contemplated, in 1820, the location there of a body of Highlanders, under Captain Grant.

8. The location of the Kat River settlers was conducted under the personal superintendence and direction of the Commissioner-General. They consisted chiefly of Hottentots from the missionary institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, Bastards from the districts of Baviaan's River and Zwagershoek, and some Gonahs who had been suffered to remain after the expulsion of Macomo. At first it was in contemplation to mix up a certain amount of English and Dutch with the coloured classes in this Settlement, but this was abandoned, on the ground that an English or Dutch settler would not consent to take a grant with which a Hottentot would be satisfied, and that if they accepted of a grant at all, in would be in the hope, by persevering industry and superior energy, of adding others to it, thereby defeating the main object of the Settlement, and leaving the Kat

River as open to inroads as any other part of the Eastern Frontier.

9. With the exception of some seed distributed among the settlers on their arrival at the locations by the Commissioner-General, no aid was given to them in the shape of rations, implements of husbandry, or in any other form, whilst undergoing the trials and privations of a first settlement. Of this they were made fully aware before leaving their homes, nor did they express any dissatisfaction with the decision of the Government on this head. Those who brought the means of subsistence with them until the first crop was reaped experienced no inconvenience; those who did not, lived on bulbs, roots, berries, and wild beans indigenous to the country, until their crops yielded them more substantial food.

10. For some time the best friends of the coloured people had their fears and apprehensions as to the ultimate success of this experiment of forming, on a large scale, native settlements on our immediate borders, more especially in the immediate vicinity of those tribes which had been but very recently expelled from the very lands which the Hottentots were called to cultivate and defend. These, however, were soon removed by the most favourable and glowing report of the late Mr. Justice Menzies, in 1832, and the no less encouraging statements of the Acting-Governor, Colonel Wade, when he visited the Frontier in 1834, after the arrival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban to assume the administration of the Government.

11. In 1830, the first year of the Settlement, the population consisted of 900 souls, of whom from 250 to 300 were available for the purposes of defence. At that time, however, they had hardly produced sufficient grain for food and seed. In 1833, the whole Settlement had

been subdivided into 640 allotments capable of irrigation, with grazing commons attached. The average size of the allotments was three morgen, or six acres, which, in the aggregate, amounted to 3,840 acres. In that year the population amounted to 2,114, of all ages and sexes : their stock consisted of 250 horses, 2,444 head of cattle, and 4,996 sheep ; they had reaped 2,300 muids of wheat and barley (6,900 imperial bushels) ; besides temporary cottages of wattle-and-daub, they had built 12 substantial stone houses, planted 13 orchards, and completed 55 canals for irrigating their allotments, of which 44 measured 141,750 feet in length, or, in round numbers, twenty-four miles.

12. In the following year, and in 1835, they had to bear the brunt of the most formidable Kaffir war which had been experienced on our Frontiers. They had now to defend twenty-six miles of Frontier, exposed, from the circumstances already explained, to the most determined attacks of the followers of Macomo and Tyali.

13. The returns from the Settlement previous to this outbreak, in December, 1834, were as follows :—Horses, 624 ; black cattle, 5,406 ; sheep and goats, 8,925 ; quantity of seed sown, 310 muids of wheat, barley, and oats ; 70 muids of Indian corn, beans, and peas ; 645 ridges of pumpkins ; the quantity reaped amounted to 1,500 muids of wheat, barley, and oats, 60 muids of Indian corn, &c., and 33 loads of pumpkins.

14. With regard to their live-stock, 557 horses, 3,992 black cattle, and 5,460 sheep and goats were swept away, and the greater part of their produce destroyed. Forty-four of their dwellings were burnt to the ground. On that occasion 2,673 of the Kat River inhabitants had to receive support from the Board of Relief, of whom 1,470 were also partially clothed. From 1835 to 1839 it

is not in my power to furnish anything like a connected narrative of the progress of the Settlement based on official statements, which, for obvious reasons, I prefer.

15. In 1839, I visited the Settlement for the first time. The impression then formed as I passed from the Chumie station to Balfour, the residence of my esteemed and much respected friend, Mr. Thomson, are thus expressed in my private journal : "August 5th, 1839.— I arrived at Balfour, from the Chumie, about three o'clock in the afternoon, passing through several of the Hottentot locations on my way. I was much struck with the simple, but neat, appearance of many of their cottages, surrounded with their gardens and cultivated fields. In no part of the Colony have I seen cultivation carried on to the same extent ; every patch of ground capable of irrigation has been encircled by their water-courses. At present their crops, which are more extensive this year than at any former period, afford a most luxuriant prospect. I am sorry to say, however, that the rust has attacked their crops in many places, and that, in consequence, the grain crop will be, to a considerable extent, a failure. This is greatly to be lamented, as the poor people have suffered much from drought during the last two years ; and the prospect they now have of surmounting their difficulties is, in a great measure, cut off. They are, however, by no means disheartened, as their crops of barley, oats, and Indian corn are rich beyond all former years. Really, at present, the Kat River is one of the most interesting sights in South Africa. Not an inch of ground is left unturned that can be brought within the reach of irrigation ; whilst on the slope of many of the hills, fields have been prepared by the Fingoes, which are planted with Kaffir corn."

16. During my visit in 1839, I had an opportunity of

forming an opinion of the state of education in the Settlement. In connection with Mr. Thomson's congregation, there were two elementary schools, partly supported by a small stipend from the Government, and partly by fees paid by the parents. In connection with the church at Philipton, there were schools established at twelve of the locations, partly supported by fixed allowances from the London Missionary Society and private individuals in England (after whom some of the localities were named), and partly by fees paid by the parents. These elementary schools were in charge of young Hottentot men, who were, at the same time, receiving instruction from Mr. Read, junior, whom they met twice a week at Philipton. Of these I wrote at the time as follows:—"I speak in perfect sincerity when I say that I have seldom met with a more interesting body of young men. It is neither from their attainments nor experience that I thus speak of them; for high expectations cannot be formed of either; but it is this—that they possess, in an eminent degree, the spirit and the zeal of the teacher. Their unwearied activity, directed by the younger Mr. Read, is the soul of the system; and I cannot but admire the efforts they have made for personal improvements under considerable difficulties. At this time Mr. Thomson had three day schools and twelve Sabbath schools, very efficiently conducted in those parts of the Settlement occupied by the people of his congregation. The chief drawback to attendance throughout the Settlement proved to be the exaction of fees."

17. It was on the same occasion that I sat down with my friend Mr. Thomson, to calculate, on a rough estimate, the value of the labour which the settlers had expended in constructing dams and cutting watercourses

for the purpose of irrigating their allotments. The result of this was, that up to that period, labour had been expended to the amount, on a moderate estimate, of £3,500 for that object ; this includes many cuttings which were abandoned when it was found that the water could be made to embrace a larger area.

18. From 1841 to 1844, both inclusive, I visited the Settlement four times. I found it steadily progressing, but not in the rapid manner that characterised the first ten years after its formation. It had, perhaps, become somewhat overstocked and overpeopled. Its progress, however, will be best shown by the following statistical returns :—

In 1844, the road-rate was first imposed on the fixed property of the Colony ; this was exactly ten years after the commencement of the Kaffir war alluded to in paragraph 12. The fixed property of the Hottentot settlers of the Kat River was then assessed at the aggregate value of £36,000, which, in reality, represents fixed property to the amount at least of £40,000. Of the live-stock at this time, or rather in the year following (1845), which consisted of 550 horses, 9,100 black cattle, and 9,500 sheep and goats, the aggregate value amounted to £20,180. The produce of their cultivated lands consisted of 7,560 muids (22,680 bushels) of grain, 50,000 lbs. of oat hay, with a proportionate quantity of pulse, pumpkins, potatoes, fruit, and vegetables. These, together with the value of transport service, wood cut down and sawn up into planks, beams, &c., amounted, in the aggregate, to £5,575. The value of the Settlement, therefore, at this period amounted, in fixed property, live-stock, and animal produce, to upwards of £65,850, being on an average of £330 to every square mile of area.

19. This area, as already stated, was divided into 640 allotments, and, at the time I refer to, sustained a population of 5,000 souls. Had it been granted to stock-farmers, it would, on the average area of such farms on the eastern frontier, have been sub-divided into twenty-five farms, on which there would have been a population of not more than 350, of all classes and colours. The whole of these lands realised to the Crown, in the shape of quit-rent on the several allotments, a sum not short of £1,200, exclusive of the forest of the Settlement, which, in 1848, could not have produced less than £50 for licences to cut wood. During the years 1844 and 1845 the erf-holders or occupiers (not more than 600 in number) paid in road-rate nearly £300. From 1840 to 1846, both inclusive, that section of the Settlement in connection with the London Missionary Society contributed in money, exclusive of the repairs of buildings, £1,100 towards the support of their religious and educational institutions. Within the same period Mr. Thomson's congregation erected a new and spacious church at Tambookie Valley, which must have cost them at least £1,000, giving a fair value to their labour.

20. At this time, the infant, juvenile, evening, and Sabbath schools throughout the Settlement were affording instruction to upwards of 1,200 persons, diffusing extensively a knowledge both of the Dutch and English languages.

21. I did not again visit the Kat River until 1848; it was then severely suffering (though rallying) from the effects of the war in 1846; their losses in that war have been estimated at £30,000, and, to complete their misery, the floods of 1848 carried away dams, water-courses, and all the apparatus they had constructed for

the purposes of irrigation. In the words of my friend, Mr. Thomson, "The Hottentots had now to encounter the severest trial that had fallen on them since the formation of the Settlement." When allowed to return to their locations from the military encampments of the Settlement, their houses had to be rebuilt, their families fed, and their lands cultivated. For the purposes of cultivation, seed had been issued to them by the Government, which, with hired oxen (chiefly), was put in the ground; for subsistence and the purchase of stock they went to the forest; and at the time I visited the Settlement there were upwards of ninety saw-pits in active operation, whilst boys of nine years of age and upwards were withdrawn from school to aid their parents in the work. At the time I visited the Settlement a large quantity of draught oxen and other stock had been exchanged for the farmers for planks, beams, and other produce of the forest; but their efforts had glutted the market, and so low had the prices become, that one of the inhabitants of an interior district town declared to me, while several Hottentot wagons were standing in the market, laden with wood, that after deducting the expense of transport and the license of 6s. payable on each load, there remained little or nothing for the labour of cutting, hewing, and sawing in the forest.

22. My opinion is, that the Kat River Settlement had not entirely recovered from the war of 1846-7 when that of 1850 commenced.

(Signed)

J. ROSE INNES.

Cape Town, May 30, 1851.*

* "Report." Kaffir Tribes, 1851, pp. 401-406.

LETTER FROM SIR A. STOCKENSTROM TO THE LATE
HONOURABLE JOHN MONTAGU, ESQ., SECRETARY
TO GOVERNMENT, RESPECTING ANDRIES BOTHA.

“The Hon. the Secretary to Government.

“SIR,—It causes me no small degree of annoyance to be compelled to add an appendix to my letter of the 11th instant, written in answer to yours of the 11th of last month ; but an occurrence has since taken place which is inseparably connected with the subject-matter of the said correspondence, viz., the state of this frontier. Last Tuesday, the 9th instant, arrived at this place, Field-Cornet Andries Botha, of Kat River. This man is a rude, unlettered native functionary, but Her Majesty has not in her dominions a more loyal subject, nor braver soldier ; and by his services during the Kaffir wars of 1835 and 1846, he has conferred a lasting obligation on the Colony and its Government. He addressed me, as nearly as I can give them literally, in these words, viz. :—

“ ‘ I know that your usual answer will be that we are mad in coming to you with our grievances, as you are nothing more than a Boer in the land ; but unless you die or fly the country, you shall have to hear the groans of every oppressed class in South Africa ; and such is the state of excitement in the Kat River at present, that without some assistance or advice, I do not know how to prevent serious consequences. You must remember the immigration of some families of the Gonaqua Hottentots into the Kat River Settlement, some twenty years ago, many of whom obtained erfs, and others promises of similar grants. They are, and consider themselves as

much Her Majesty's subjects as I am, and as such did burgher duty and fought bravely for the British Crown during both the Kaffir wars. They paid taxes to the Colonial Government as long as they were exacted ; were a tower of strength to the rear districts, and there never was a complaint against them. Some time since a number of Kaffirs came and squatted down in the Settlement ;—the inhabitants requested that they might be removed. Accordingly, this was done under the direction of the Civil Commissioner of Fort Beaufort, but immediately after this proceeding, the Kat River Magistrate, heading a body of *Kaffir Police*, caused to be burnt out, not only those who had come in since the war, but the Gonaquas to the last, who had been twenty years in the Settlement, with all the Fingo servants. Not a moment's warning was given. I remonstrated,—the Hottentots entreated for their friends in vain ; nothing availed, neither the cries of the children nor the tears of the mothers, some of whom were in child-bed, with babes of three or four days old, on one of the coldest days of this inclement season, and that on a Sunday (the day of peace, rest, and prayer), when, even if the act had been lawful, there was not the remotest pretext for haste. The *Kaffir Police* held the fire-brands ready to ignite the huts, while the inmates and property were being bundled out of them ; the *Kaffir Police* exultingly shouting : ' To-day we burn Botha out of the Blinkwater as he burnt us out of the Amatola last war.' The Police took possession of all the cattle, some of which has been lost. Thus, about fifty families have been burnt out, who were our friends, protectors, and defenders in two wars and driven like felons and outlaws, among the very enemies against whom they fought, and at whose mercy they will be. The Magistrate has

dismissed me, why, I cannot tell. Is it possible that British subjects have to submit to such treatment?

“‘Now, here you have another case. In Lower Blinkwater, *the commonage belonging to and measured out for the village* has been given to a white man, who has been appointed Superintendent. It is, of course, quite impossible to keep from the land the cattle of the villagers to whom this land belongs, and which cattle has been for years accustomed to graze thereon. The consequence is, that the cattle of these villagers, the lawful proprietors of the land, are almost daily impounded by the said Superintendent, who enriches himself by the penalties which he claims as damages. Can human forbearance long submit to such galling oppression?

“‘We have lately had a case in which the Magistrate sentenced some persons to enormous fines, and others to hard labour. The sentence was carried into execution; the Government found it so unjust that it ordered the money to be returned; but for those who were dealt with like felons, there is not a shadow of redress!’

“My answer to Botha was this:—‘You are not without remedy. If the local Government can give you no redress, you have the Colonial Secretary of State to complain to, and failing there, your appeal lies to Parliament. For despair there is no cause. The Sovereign assuredly wishes you to be governed with justice and equity.’

“To the agitated complainant I deemed it unnecessary to say more; but to Her Majesty’s ministers and the twelve judges in Westminster, I would respectfully submit the question whether there exist any power on the face of the earth competent to march an armed force—especially one composed of what we are pleased to call ‘irreclaimable savages and untameable wolves’

—into the Colony, to destroy the property of, and maltreat and oppress, Her Majesty's peaceful loyal subjects, in the manner above detailed? Are these the objects for which the Kaffir Police is organised? Then it may become an instrument of tyranny against the whole Colony, for what is lawful to be done to the inhabitants of the Kat River is such to those of Cape Town and Stellenbosch; and I should like to know what the men of Kent would say to a body of Gendarmes brought across the Channel, burning houses, driving their wives out of child-bed, with their sucklings, into the highways in a December storm, on a blessed Sunday, and expelling men, women, and children from their lawful homes, to be forced upon a barbarous foe, so lately beaten by them, and thirsting for revenge. That the Gendarme would be civilised, and the policeman a 'savage' or a 'wolf,' only makes the Kat River case ten times worse; and that the one receives French and the other British pay does not affect the principle nor alter the Kaffir's feelings towards his conqueror, thus placed at his mercy. I shall not stop to ask the several municipalities of the Colony how they should relish to see *their* commonage given to individuals, functionaries or not, who enrich themselves by sending *their* cattle to the pound *from off that commonage*; nor need I dwell on the possibility of a repetition of men being condemned to hard labour, by mistake, ignorance, or downright injustice. My object is—since the Governor has opened the discussion—to unmask, as I have before said, the true state of affairs on the Frontier. We may be sure that some of the newspapers will trumpet forth the above Kaffir Police doings in the Kat River as a glorious exploit, and as a notable specimen of the admirable working of 'the present system.' This may be believed

here and at home, until suddenly the Chancellor of the Exchequer may have to ask the House of Commons once more for a million or two on account of another Kaffir war, which will be traced to the Governor's successor having done something to disturb *the system*.

"The Kat River people, so lately and so justly considered one of the most loyal communities in the Colony, after having been twice mainly instrumental in saving the Colony, and being rewarded by malicious calumny and the denial of justice, have from later events, taken it into their heads that a plot exists somewhere to goad them on to some excess, and furnish the plea for their expulsion from the only nook in the land of their fathers which remains to them, and in which they hoped to rest the last ashes of their expiring race. Of the present feelings of these men, Botha is a specimen. Beyond the Vaal River, we see '*rebellion effectually crushed*' in the transactions going forward between *Republicans* and British travellers. The state of the Griquas and the Basutos is depicted in the statements of Secretary Hendriks, which can be proved to the letter. The peace in Kaffirland I have described in my letter of the 1st instant, and that between the Tambookies and Boers is exhibited in yours of the 11th ultimo. So that our present 'Frontier relations,' divested of newspaper and other varnish, will be found as 'comfortable' as they were in 1836, when we could not prevent the destruction of a witch in the midst of a British army, and under the nose of a British Magistrate; when we could not make an enemy whom we had 'completely subdued' give up a single horse, cow, ox, or musket which he had taken from us; when all was insecurity, chaos, and anarchy; and when British subjects were

moving off *en masse*, to unburthen themselves of our happy rule. Such are the facts which an honest inquiry will exhibit.

“I have, &c.,

“A. STOCKENSTROM.

“Maaström, July 11, 1850.”

THE NAME “STOCKENSTROM” GIVEN TO THE KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT, AND THE REASONS WHICH LED TO THE CHANGE.

(Copy.)

“Kat River, July 22, 1844.

“SIR,—We, the undersigned, are the heads of parties, and other landed proprietors, resident in the Settlement established on the sources of the Kat River in 1829, and subsequent years, by and under the direction of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., then Commissioner-General of the Eastern Province, and which were surveyed and allotted by you.

“Deeply impressed with the benevolence and wisdom which suggested the establishment of the Settlements, and grateful for the benefit thereby conferred on the free coloured class of inhabitants in general, and more especially for those which we and our families individually have obtained, we are desirous of perpetuating the remembrance thereof by designating the Settlements by the name of ‘Stockenstrom.’

“We therefore beg to apply to you as the officer of Government employed to survey the Settlement, to convey our request to the proper quarters, that the designation proposed may be given to the Settlements,

and that the same may be inscribed in the diagrams which remain to be issued from your office.

“ We have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servants,

(Signed) “ W. R. THOMPSON,

“ C. J. GROEPE, Sen.,

“ C. J. RODGER,

“ ANDRIES PRETORIUS,

“ J. READ, sen., for E. READ.

“ HENDRIK VINCENT,

and 272 other signatures of all the field-cornets, heads of parties, and the most respectable inhabitants of the Settlement.

(A true Copy.)—

(Signed) “ W. FRED. HERTZOG,

“ Asst. Surv.-General.

“ Surveyor-General's Office,
“ August 12, 1844.”

(Copy.)

“ Surveyor-General's Office,
“ August 2, 1844.”

“ To the Hon'ble

“ Secretary to Government, &c.

“ SIR,—I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter respecting the Kat River, addressed to me by the most respectable of the inhabitants of that Settlement, and to beg that you will have the goodness to submit the same for His Excellency the Governor's consideration.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) “ W. FRED. HERTZOG,

“ 1st Asst. Surveyor-General.

“ July 22, 1844.”

(Copy.)

“Colonial Office, Cape Town.

“August 9, 1844.

“To the First Assistant Surveyor-General.

“SIR,—Having laid before the Governor your letter of the 2nd instant, with its enclosure, in reply, I am directed by His Excellency to acquaint you that he has been pleased to accede to the request made by certain inhabitants of the Kat River, praying that that Settlement may henceforth be called ‘Stockenstrom,’ and that that name may be inserted in such of the diagrams of land there as still remain to be issued from the Surveyor-General’s Office.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) “JOHN MONTAGU.

“Surveyor-General’s Office,

“August 12, 1844.

(A true Copy.)—

(Signed)

“W. FRED. HERTZOG,

“1st Asst. Surveyor-General.”

(Copy.)

“Surveyor-General’s Office,

“Cape Town, August 12, 1844.

“SIR,—I have the honour to forward to you the enclosed copy of an application from the heads of parties and the most respectable inhabitants of the Settlement of Kat River, requesting that the said Settlement may be named ‘Stockenstrom,’ and considering that you would have no objection that your name should be given to an establishment of which you are the original founder, and which has already proved so beneficial to that class of inhabitants which occupy the same, I submitted it for the Governor’s consideration ;

and I have now the pleasure to forward you also a copy of the answer received from Government, whereby His Excellency has acceded to the request, and directed that the said Settlement of Kat River shall henceforth be called 'Stockenstrom,' and that that name be inserted in such of the diagrams of land there as still remain to be issued from the Surveyor-General's Office.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "W. FRED. HERTZOG."

(Copy.)

"Cape Town, August 13, 1844.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, enclosing copy of an application from the Rev. W. R. Thomson, and a number of the inhabitants of the Kat River Settlements, requesting that the said Settlements may be named 'Stockenstrom,' together with the approval of His Excellency the Governor. Having always taken the deepest interest in the welfare of all classes of my fellow-subjects, and being particularly happy that the measures to which the applicants allude have been productive of benefits to themselves and to the coloured part of the community in general, I cannot be otherwise than sincerely gratified at the sense which they entertain of my efforts as a subordinate agent in the execution of the 'benevolent and wise' plan of the Government of the day, and therefore beg of you to convey to His Excellency and the said applicants my thanks for what I deem a high compliment.

"I remain, &c.,

(Signed) "ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM.

"To W. F. Hertzog, Esq."

LANDS AT GLEN LYNDEN AND THE KAT RIVER—
A STARTLING DISCLOSURE OF WRONG IN THE
SEIZURE OF ALLOTMENTS OF THE LATTER.

The Honourable Sir A. STOCKENSTROM moved, pursuant to notice of the 25th instant :—"That whereas the Government has not yet been able to lay on the table of this House the papers connected with the cases of the Glen Lynden Church and the Kat River Settlement, as granted on the 7th and 10th instant, and whereas the present Session of Parliament seems to be drawing to a close, he requests the Secretary to Government to inform him, whether it is in contemplation to proceed with the disposal of the land claimed by the said Church, and with that of the Kat River Settlement, according to the directions of the late Governors, Sir H. Smith and Sir G. Cathcart, or whether that process will be suspended until the said papers shall have been duly examined by this House." In doing so—the honourable baronet said—I believe I am quite in order in giving my reasons for requesting the Government to answer this question. It would be worse than unreasonable to complain of the delay which has accompanied the production of the papers referred to, knowing, as I do, how much the officials are overwhelmed by the necessary exactions of Parliament, and after the ample experience of their readiness to co-operate. At the same time it is my bounden duty to guard, as much as in me lies, against any precipitation in the carrying out of unjust measures, from drawing the Executive into errors which it may be difficult to retrace ; and to prove to the House that my apprehensions are not mere phantoms, I shall, laying aside for the present the Glen Lynden matter, as in my opinion, self-evident, submit five cases of gross oppression

perpetrated in the Kat River Settlement, which I select out of many, because I believe that I can answer for the perfect accuracy of the facts as they come to my knowledge, and which I am therefore justified in depicting in their true colours.

I begin, 1st, with the case of Gerrit Samson, to whom a piece of ground was allotted by the Surveyor-General, under the authority of Sir L. Cole, in 1832 ; who for twenty years lived by the cultivation of that ground, complied with every condition imposed by his tenure, fought for the British Crown during three Kaffir wars, has never had his loyalty nor his general conduct called in question, but has had part of the ground so long cultivated by him seized upon by the very magistrate whose duty it was to protect him in his person as well as in his property, but who has turned this very ground to his own private advantage, and all this under the alleged authority of Governor Cathcart. Well may the House stare. For whatever may be the nature of Samson's claim, I repeat what I maintained on a former occasion, that the Governor had as much right, without the intervention of judge or jury, to seize one inch of that land, be it erf or commonage, as the Lieutenant-Governor has to seize the cattle of any man in this House. But above all, by giving it to a magistrate, he was only rehearsing the drama of 1835, which may once more end in the same catastrophe.

2nd. You have Hendrik Booy, who obtained an erf exactly under similar circumstances as the former, complied with every condition of his tenure, is up to this moment as loyal a man as there is in the Colony but, to the edification of those whose hair is changing colour like mine, be it known that this wretch has had his erf taken from him and given to a white man, who does not

even pretend to have a claim upon it, whilst the lawful owner is turned adrift, destitute, because, forsooth, he has been found guilty of the heinous crime of being "too old," after having fought through three wars against the "irreclaimable savages" on the side of Her Majesty and her predecessor. What thinks the House of this?

3rd. Comes Andries Pretorius, another of the original settlers of the Kat River, brought there to stand the brunt of the dangers of this Colony in 1829. His case is exactly similar to the two former. He laboured for eighteen years, created a fine garden, full of fruit-trees, as well as a cornfield, and a comfortable homestead, watered by a stream which he had led from the river; performed every service that could be exacted from him, fought though two Kaffir wars as a loyal British subject; and, when called from home for a time, by indispensable avocations, which he had as much right to attend to as any one of us has to attend to his private affairs, he left a son to answer for him in his absence. Now, will the House believe that, without the remotest shadow even of a suspicion of criminality of any sort, this man's land, with all the fruit of his labour for the best part of his life, has been confiscated and given to a white man who has as much claim to it as I have to Hope Ville Lodge (the President's estate); and all this for the newly-invented crime of absenteeism, the absurdity whereof, however, prevents it from being officially pleaded. You must be sceptical! The thing is impossible! Well, then, I tell you it is a fact!

But then look at this. Here is number 4. Hendrik Hendriks obtained an erf at the commencement of the Settlement, like the former three, and, like them, complied with every condition of his tenure. He fought for his and my sovereign and country during the wars of

1835 and 1846, and was killed in that of 1851 by the Queen's enemies and his own rebel conntrymen, leaving a widow with three children, one of whom likewise served Her Majesty throughout the last war. This widow, Sir, and her loyal son, with the other two orphan children, have been robbed of their late husband's and father's erf, which has been likewise given to a white man! And why? What thinks the House? Because the forlorn widow married a man who had been among the rebels, but had surrendered, had been pardoned, and was actually serving Her Majesty in the levies when she married him. This is the reason given for sending her and the children of her loyal husband, who had loyally perished, to wander homeless, perhaps to be seized and punished as vagrants, whilst they see their all in the possession of one who never moved a finger for it. Good heavens, are we in a Christian land! You will perhaps hear something about these unfortunate sufferers not having the regular title-deeds to show for their claims. Aye, that is noble; for twenty years you neglect your duty of issuing the title-deeds, and then punish the victims of your neglect by confiscation.

But how will this quibble avail you in the next case? No. 5.—Andries Botha, who has already cut a conspicuous figure before this House, was one of those who were fortunate enough to obtain their title-deeds, in consequence of the benevolent decision of Sir B. D'Urban, in dispensing with the restrictions which I had imposed on the Kat River settlers, in consideration of their services, losses, and sufferings, under his own command. There I place before you in this Blue Book the form of his title-deed, which will show you that he had as much right to dispose of his land as any one of us has the right to do with that in virtue whereof we sit

here. He accordingly gave to the Missionary Society a piece of ground to build a school on. For this purpose the late Sir Thos. Fowell Buxton sent out the money, and a building was erected. This transaction took place about 1834; yet the land, school, and all, have been lately confiscated, on the plea that Botha was convicted of high treason in 1852. Thus, Sir, according to this new principal of justice, if a jury were to-morrow to find guilty of high treason the man from whom you have bought your mansion some twenty years since, you may find yourself some fine morning turned upon the highways, to beg, to steal, or to rebel!

Sir, I admit to this House that I am overwhelmed with consternation and horror, and emphatically send these cases before this country, before England, and before the world, as one branch of the system of Sir George Cathcart, who has seen fit to leave the helm of the bark in a storm, at the very moment when his presence was most needed to keep us clear of breakers, and to throw light on these and many other matters. For these reasons I hope that my question will be considered well-founded, and that I shall be favoured with a satisfactory answer from the honourable and learned official here representing the Government.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, in reply, was instructed to state that no steps would be taken in the matter until the papers had been laid before the House, and the subject fully inquired into,—assuring the House of the willingness of the Executive to do all all they could to redress grievances.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM was perfectly satisfied. The sentiments the Attorney-General had expressed were just what he had expected from the present Government.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL ON THE 21st SEPTEMBER.

Mr. GODLONTON said, that if there was no other business before the Council, he wished to ask the honourable baronet opposite, whether a passage in the report of a speech said to have been made by him in Council on the 28th August, and published in that morning's *Commercial Advertiser and Mail*, was correct. The passage he referred to related to the case of Gerrit Samson, and was as follows:—"He (Gerrit Samson) has had part of the ground so long cultivated by him seized upon by the very magistrate whose duty it was to protect him in his person as well as in his property."

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM.—That report is perfectly correct, and I am responsible for every word of it as spoken in this House, and as you all heard.

The PRESIDENT declared the honourable member out of order.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM.—I move that the honourable member be allowed to proceed. I have the right to dispense with the "notice," as the question is put to me.

Mr. GODLONTON then said, that he had taken the earliest possible moment after the publication of the stigma to state that a letter he held in his hand, received from the frontier, contained the following passage relative to this very case: "Groepe, Commandant, told Samson on Monday last, in presence of a host of coloured men, that he had belied their magistrate and sent a false statement to the Parliament." In addition to that he had to observe that a public meeting had been held in the Kat River Settlement, within a week of the time when the speech in question was made by the honourable baronet. That meeting had been called by three Englishmen, brothers, named Green, one of whom

had married a coloured woman, and as appeared from the report, for the express purpose of establishing a charge against the magistrate in question. It appeared, however, instead of succeeding, on a vote of confidence in the same magistrate being proposed, it was all but unanimously carried, the only persons holding up their hands against it being the three Greens before mentioned. He (Mr. G.) felt persuaded that the honourable baronet, from his innate love of justice, would not permit a public officer to lie under an imputation of so grave a nature as the one in question, for a single moment longer than was necessary to disprove it, and he therefore called his attention to it, in the hope that public opinion would be suspended until the case came fairly and fully before it.

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM, with much warmth, rose and said,—I am thankful for the compliment which the honourable member has paid to my feelings and motives ; but we have here to do with facts, and I insist upon every one stated in the speech from which the honourable member has read an extract. The honourable member complains of my condemning the magistrate unheard, in his absence, and sending his name with the charge of oppression over the country. I deny that the magistrate was unheard. Or does the honourable member mean to deny that the magistrate is in possession of land taken from, and cultivated by, a poor Hottentot, whom it was his duty to protect? And as for publishing the case all over the country, that is exactly what was intended. I stated the case in this very place, when the House may remember that the honourable the Attorney-General followed nearly the same line of argument which the honourable member is now pursuing, adding, that he trusted that it would be proved that, if injustice had been done, injustice was not intended. If the

honourable member will read throughout the speech on which he has just commented, he will find that I then stated that I emphatically meant to send the five cases therein specified, not only before this country, but before England, and before the world, as specimens of General Cathcart's system.

I repeat that I deny his right to seize one inch of the Kat River Hottentot land. That land, a mere speck in the vast continent taken from that race, was restored to the expiring remnants by a benevolent Government, under sanction of the Crown, conveyed through its Colonial Minister. The law can hang or otherwise punish any criminal on that land ; but no Governor has the right, upon his own authority, to give one inch of it to a white man, or to give one man's land to another. This is illegal ; but, above all, it is the height of impropriety to give such land to a magistrate. I have lately had occasion to show how a great extent of that land was, in 1835, given to two magistrates by a well-meaning but mistaken Governor ; how it was necessary to cancel those gifts in order to prevent the most dangerous consequences ; and how the same species of injustice helped to produce a rebellion ; and I now ask, are these scenes to be rehearsed once more ?

The honourable member states that Commandant Groepe, Justice of the Peace, told Samson that he had calumniated the magistrate, and that the land did not belong to Samson. A more truthful, respectable man than Groepe there is not in the Colony ; but is not Samson to be allowed to prove his case ? At any rate, does Groepe deny that the magistrate is in possession of land belonging to the Hottentots under royal authority, and cultivated by the sweat of the brow of a poor individual Hottentot ? Whether the land be Hottentot

commonage or a Hottentot erf, will it improve the case of the magistrate, or of the Governor, under whose sanction the act of oppression was perpetrated, if it could be proved that the poor Hottentot was too stupid exactly to know his landmarks? But even this I deny. The honourable member has referred to a public meeting got up in Kat River by three Englishmen, whom he compliments. He says that on this occasion the Hottentots warmly expressed their confidence in the magistrate. Now, Sir, about such meetings I am not going to detain this House; but this I know, that if all the Hottentots in South Africa were to be brought together to cheer a magistrate at such a meeting, it would not in the least alter or mitigate the facts which I have stated, which I insist upon, and which shall be proved; and as long as God grants me strength to raise my voice in this place, I shall resist every such act of oppression.

Mr. GODLONTON said,—The honourable baronet has not at all met the case. In his speech which I find fault with, he says, that the magistrate seized the land——

Sir A. STOCKENSTROM.—What else do I say now? I repeat: he seized the land under the Governor's authority, and that both acted illegally.

Messrs. Wicht, Rutherfoord, and Ebden made some remarks on the subject, when the President put a stop to the discussion by deciding that it could not be continued while there was no question before the Council.

CHAPTER XXX.

1852-1864.

Short Review by Sir A. Stockenstrom of the principal events in which he had taken part—Leaves for England in 1856—Sojourn on the Continent of Europe till 1858—Visit to the Colony in 1860—Voyage in the *Cambrian*—Gratifying reception everywhere—"Good night"—Return to England in 1862—Death, 1864—Appreciated by Colonial Press—Obituary notice.

THE Review of his life's work naturally occupied the mind of the patriot when he had taken his final leave of Cape politics in 1856, and this he records as follows:—

I will now only add a statement of the course which I have pursued in the several important questions which have agitated South Africa during my connection with its politics. If I follow the example of some of the British statesmen in the present general election (1858) by reminding the world of the services which I have performed, and the motives which actuated me, I at least differ from those statesmen—otherwise so much my superiors—in this, that I am not sounding my own trumpet with the view of deprecating the wrath of my audience on account of any one of my acts, and of procuring its suffrage towards a seat in Parliament or a place in the Ministry.

My political career is at an end. I have no favour to ask, no displeasure to avert; and if I had I should certainly not, with some of the highest characters in the country, try to explain away, or apologise for "my vote

in favour of Cobden's motion, by pretending that I did not consider it as censuring or likely to destroy the Government." The vote conscientiously given ought not to have been modified to obtain the place even of my Lord Palmerston himself. However, to return to a less important person.

I take credit at least for having invariably co-operated towards the establishment of a just, liberal, and free Government. I have shown that I had the approbation of all classes upon my general administration of the Graaff Reinet District. The question of slave emancipation, even at a time when it was most unpopular, had my warmest support, and let me again record with pride that it was the slaveholders of my district, who at a public meeting as early as 1826, held by my instrumentality, and with the approval of the Government, declared their consent to the commencement of emancipation by an enactment which should enfranchise every child born of a slave mother after a certain date. This would have been a great step in advance if it had been carried out. I was likewise one of the chief promoters of and contributors to the subsequent plan of purchasing and emancipating female slave children; a less effectual and less politic, but equally benevolent measure with the foregoing, and I was one of the foremost to subscribe a declaration that every child thenceforth born of our own slaves should be born free, and the foremost in giving practical effect to that declaration.

I am known to have been the chief originator and promoter of the law enacted for the removal of the very oppressive disabilities under which the weaker classes of the community laboured at a time when that species of legislation was very unpopular. My share in the production and enactment of the 50th Ordinance, passed

under that good and wise ruler General Bourke, was notorious; and in giving effect to this law by another benevolent Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, I was known to be chiefly instrumental.

I have rendered myself so desperately obnoxious to the war party as to become the object of their relentless hatred and persecution, by my efforts to promote peace and civilisation among the barbarous tribes bordering our territory.

The success of those efforts, and the beneficent principles of the Glenelg policy, need not here be repeated, as they have been fully demonstrated in the course of this narrative.

* * * * *

Among those services in which I took part, I may safely call myself one of the chief promoters of the improvement in the breeds of stock of the Graaff Reinet Agricultural Society, of Schools under Sir John Cradock and his successors; of the college and first Insurance office in their infancy; and of every other undertaking or measure for the improvement of the Colony. I advocated the introduction of popular representation into the Boards of Heemraden and Municipalities as early as the year 1824.

* * * * *

As Commissioner-General I had already betrayed my heterodox principles. I was certain that education, commerce, roads, railways, agriculture, and every branch of legitimate industry conducted with truth and justice, would bring plenty of money to the Colony, and make us all rich without the help of slaughter, robbery, and fraud for the benefit of the patronised and elect. These *richest of gold mines* I was therefore determined to work with the utmost zeal. Did not Graham and Willshire successfully carry on war against the Kaffirs? Where

is the man who can boast of having, under either of these distinguished officers, made £20,000 by oats, hay, or rotten coats and blankets? These officers I took for models.

Then, as the white man had possessed himself of more than 250,000 square miles of Hottentot land, and nearly exterminated the owners, I thought, and the great body of the Colonists when not worked upon by their bitterest enemies and sympathisers, thought so too, that there could be no great treason against white *Christians* in trying, as far as still possible, to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate remnant. Sir Lowry Cole's Kat River Settlement was the first important step in this philanthropic movement, and it turned out the most successful experiment South Africa had ever undertaken: as besides religious and moral advantages, it established, in a military point of view, the strongest and cheapest position on the Frontier.

* * * * *

On the Press my opinions have long been known. What a state the Cape would have been in without a free Press! The evils of the Press are like a drop in the bucket compared with its blessings. A free Press conducted upon high moral principles with comprehensive enlightened views, such as you can boast of in more than one corner of South Africa, is one of the best safeguards of society. I would not, if I could help it, live in a country in which such a Press does not exist; but I have ever scorned to submit to that tyrannical system of domination which would place the character of every man at the mercy of any self-constituted censor who, with some talent and plenty of impudence, can muster a few pounds, set up a few types, with a view of political bravado and bullying; and it is difficult to figure to oneself a more humiliating spectacle, one more insulting to

the dignity of our nature, than a man trembling to follow the dictates of his conscience in fear of incurring the wrath or spite of such a censor, or stooping to the most questionable concessions to obtain a puff or eulogy from the same quarter.

* * * * *

My share in obtaining Constitutional Government for the Colony is too recent to require particular notice, and my last effort in favour of the Colony, under which I fairly broke down, was in the debate on responsible Government; which from the first I had considered essential to the Constitution, and without which the public machine must constantly be liable to impediment. We (Mr. Fairbairn and I) reached Table Bay on the very day on which the Constitution was proclaimed. More the Colony could not ask. We found opposed to us, as belonging to the so-called "Town House party," three of the best and ablest men and officials in the Colony, Porter, Hope, and Field: but it is worth the trouble of those who wish honestly to know on which side forbearance and reason lay, to study the public struggles on this same question of the Constitution of these three councillors against their colleague, the domineering Secretary, as recorded by the Cape Press.

At any rate, I was once more free to return to my home; but that home had become a heap of ashes, under direct or indirect high patronage, whilst I was exerting myself ten thousand miles off in behalf of the Colony. I had not the means to rebuild. My health was gone, and my finances were crippled. The Municipality had, unasked, liberally given me a sum of money to defray the expenses of my mission, and on my return offered to call for subscriptions to make up the deficit, which both my colleague and I declined.

The compensation for my losses as Lieutenant-Governor, as intended by one of the best and most just of Ministers, took a different direction, as shown above, and I was most unjustly and arbitrarily sophisticated out of my Captain's half-pay ; so that, as I had not feathered my nest, or made hay while the sun shone, I had to weather the storms past, present, and future, with a pension of seven hundred pounds, and the produce of some sheep, cattle, and horses.

My struggles as a Colonial representative had got me into the black books in Downing Street, which I sincerely regretted, but which dwindled into utter insignificance when weighed against my duty to those who had confided in me, and to whom I had pledged my faith.

My loyalty to the present most virtuous and wisest of Sovereigns would at any time place my life at her disposal, and my affection for the only land of true liberty, for its constitution, its laws, and *many* of its virtues, would make me struggle in defence of these to my last gasp ; but I never entertained or professed any allegiance to your high official Lords, or Baronets, or Knights, or Esquires beyond what the promotion of the public service demanded, and the respect which their characters and conduct irresistibly draw forth ; and when I hear, in allusion to my so-called "impracticable independence and pride," of the "sins of the fathers being visited on the children to the third and fourth generation," I tell those children that they deserve to be Government slaves, or Ploughmen, or sheep-shearers, unless they capacitate themselves independently to look any petty tyrant in the face, as well as to venerate and bow to any lawful authority righteously and honourably exercised.

However, to return to my position at the end of 1851,

in my bodily and financially crippled condition, I could only afford for my family a temporary home near Cape Town, and proceed to the Frontier, being then near sixty, and hoping to be left for the future of my days to try to recover some of the lee way which my property had made through the baffling storms of office, war, and politics. But my despotic master, the Colony, decided otherwise.

The Constitution being completed, I was told orally by some who believed themselves entitled, from old affection and habit, to use the language of admonition, that the old Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, whether sick or in good health, would be cancelling all his services if he were to leave the Colony in the lurch at such a crisis, when it became his duty to help to set in motion the machine he had helped to construct.

The same line of argument became general among those whose opinions were of weight in the country. My difficulties were considered selfish. The many addresses which I received are public and speak for themselves. The result is known. The "unpopular Dutchman" was brought into Parliament by an overwhelming majority of votes, Dutch, English, and Black ; and it is well known that those votes would have been doubled if the law had not prevented the Western Districts from adding theirs, and if the candidate's own friends had not wisely thought fit, when they saw his election secure, to promote that of other at least equally worthy members.

For my Parliamentary career, I must for brevity's sake refer to the official records and to the Cape Press. In the middle of the third session, I finally broke down ; and believing myself both bodily and mentally no longer fit for public life, I made up my mind to devote the

remainder of my days to the education of my children, and brought my family to Europe. They know the sequel, as well as I do, so that I need not swell out this composition with my later travels, only observing, with reference to my departure from the Council, that the majority of the members bade me farewell in terms which, considering their characters and weight in the community, are to me more valuable than would have been thousands of the signatures usually scraped together wholesale.

Now then, having come to London in 1856, on my way to Edinburgh, where I intended to place my sons at the High School, and pitch my tent for the remainder of my days, my health was in such a state that my medical and other friends thought that I should be guilty of suicide if I were to go farther north for the winter. I consequently spent the first cold season in Nice, and the next in Naples, returning in 1858 through Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Como, and Switzerland, and intermediate town and country, to England, being determined to defy the climate for the sake of my sons, whom I placed in King's College; but unable to settle down and become a resident, being obliged to take lodgings from week to week to be ready to move to a warmer climate at a moment's warning.

Thus unsettled, I held out to October, 1860; but my life being then considered in danger, and a trip to the Cape the only chance of saving it, I departed, leaving my family behind, but blessed with the care of an affectionate daughter and her kind husband.

This voyage was performed in the first trip of the steamer *Cambrian*, Captain Strutt, and in company with the sainted Bishop MacKenzie, his sister, and party, and a crowd of other passengers; who, as Sir Andries often remarked, seeing his

invalided condition, one and all showed him such marked kindness and respect that to the end of his days he constantly alluded to it with grateful pleasure.

I reached the land of my birth in November, and never did I enjoy a more complete triumph than my reception afforded me from one end of the Colony to the other. I now returned for the first time totally destitute of any public capacity whatsoever. No Landdrost, with hundreds of farms to give away, and many other favours to bestow. No Commissioner-General with augmented powers. No Lieutenant-Governor eclipsing all these. No Commandant-General and Colonel on the Staff, the leader of the choice of many. No Colonial Deputy, come back after a struggle with the mighty in a popular cause. No! only the old veteran, weather-beaten, broken down in the service of his country, supposed to be at his last gasp, who the most ignorant of the community knew had not the patronage, the power, nor the strength to injure or benefit a fly; yet hardly had I landed and reached the hospitable home of my medical friend and relative, when my old and new acquaintance, even strangers and ladies, crowded in to such an extent that the doctor feared and said the excitement would be too much in my weak condition.

At Algoa Bay I met the same, where my excellent lady friends placed their carriages at my disposal, with lodgings at their residence. On the way to Bedford, Somerset, Pearston, and Graaff Reinet, the most unbounded good will and sympathy was exhibited, as if I were still in my ancient glory. Many of my *settler* and other friends came considerable distances to see me; and in the last-named town, where I was confined for the winter, many such journeys were made with the same object. Of the rising generation many, who could

only know me from hearsay, said that they wished to shake hands from what their fathers had told them ; and the town ended by insisting that I should open their College, though from the state of my health they could only expect me to bungle it.

On my return journey the congregation of Adelaide invited me to open their fine church, which I regretted that I could not comply with. This return journey was a mere repetition of the former, and after a month's rest with my kind brother-in-law and family, I embarked quietly for England, without six persons in Africa knowing I was off.

This final visit, and so much general and affectionate sympathy in my powerless, helpless condition, render the Cape and its people more dear to me than ever ; though I may differ on important points with some of its politicians, and its present melancholy distressed condition (1862-63) is to me truly heart-breaking. I admit there was no flourish of trumpets, nor *feus de joie*, to meet me. I did not hear a single "hurrah," nor saw I a single tallow lamp by way of illumination ; but whilst we know that we have had these demonstrations in favour of some of the best men that we have ever had among us, they have sometimes fallen to the lot of pretenders, who afterwards turned out great fools, if not worse. I have also enjoyed something of the kind in my day ; but I admit that the approbation of the good and the wise always appeared to me more valuable than the empty shout of a London full, a Paris full, or Cape Town full populace.

Here I must stop. I feel I am breaking down once more, and, indeed, can have little more to say, except on one subject, with which to close this string of egotism.

* * * * *

One of my dearest friends tells me, "So close upon your grave, you must forgive your enemies." So I do, *strictly* in the *spirit* of the sacred sublime command to turn the left cheek to him who smites you on the right ; for my conscience assures me if I had the few who sought my ruin at my mercy, I should not retaliate, but serve them, if I could do so with honour and without injustice to others.

* * * * *

Good night ! I have a long one before me. May God have mercy !

With the above "Good night" Sir Andries closed his notes of his own career. He had never enjoyed robust health. His early campaigns had told seriously on his constitution. While he was Landdrost of Graaff Reinet he was more than once so desperately ill that he wished to retire from public life. During his travels in Europe he was laid up with fever in St. Petersburg, and after his return to the Cape, suffered much from bronchitis and neuralgia ; but the campaign of 1846 broke him down entirely, and from that time to the day of his death he was a confirmed invalid, though, as we have seen, he still strove to serve the Colony in various capacities.

When he last left the shores of S. Africa, early in 1862, he was so weak that it seemed doubtful whether he could survive the voyage, and he reached England in such an exhausted condition, that many days elapsed before he could undertake the journey by rail from Devonport to London ; but he lingered on till March 15, 1864, when, in his seventy-second year, his earthly career terminated, watched over to the last by her who had since 1828 been the truly noble partner of his eventful life, as well as the tender and affectionate wife and exemplary mother of his children, and who still (1887) survives him, the cherished and venerable head of the family.

Besides the sorrows which so many mothers are called upon to endure in parting with infant children, she has, since her husband's death in 1864, mourned the loss of her second

daughter, Mrs. Shippard, who died in Graham's Town on December 25, 1870. Again, in March 1880, she saw her youngest son, the beloved and esteemed Judge Stockenstrom, cut down in the prime of life, and in full promise of a brilliant and useful career.

What she suffered during the cruel persecutions of her husband, with the awful ordeal of the murder trial—as also during the Kaffir Campaigns, when his life was for months together in hourly danger—can scarcely be imagined.

She was equally the sharer in his honours, and gloried in those characteristics which stand so fully developed throughout his life, and mark him as the unflinching advocate and champion of truth, justice, and humanity to all, and of true civil and religious liberty. A double slab of granite marks his resting-place in Kensal Green Cemetery.

When the news of his death reached the Colony, the announcement was received with deep regret by all classes of the community, English, Dutch, and Natives. Most of the newspapers gave suitable expression to the public feeling, and the old Town of Graaff Reinet signalised itself by the following sketch of his life and tribute to his memory, appearing in the local *Advertiser*, which is selected from among a host of obituary notices to be reprinted as the spontaneous effusion of the Town which had been the cradle of his political life, and had never ceased to honour and look up to him. One newspaper alone, consistent to the last in its hatred of the man and his career, found nothing to record but a congratulation to the Colony that his pension had ceased.

The excerpt from the Graaff Reinet *Advertiser* is as follows:—

THE LATE SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM.

Amongst the items of intelligence which we gave in our last issue of news received by the mail steamer *Saxon*, we made mention of the news by the telegraph of the death of Sir Andries Stockenstrom.

The relations of the venerable Baronet had by former

mails received such accounts of the declining state of his health as had partially prepared them for the afflicting information which has now reached them ; and the very large number of his friends in this and the other parts of the country will sincerely sympathise with his esteemed relict and family in the deep affliction which their bereavement brings with it.

The demise of a man who has justly earned for himself a name honourably distinguished amongst his countrymen and in the service of his Queen requires more than a passing notice ; and we shall endeavour here to give a short sketch of his life and official career, the whole of which, with the exception of an occasional sojourn in Europe, was spent in this Colony.

He was born in Cape Town on 6th July, 1791, shortly before the eventful period in which the Colony, within the brief space of ten years, thrice changed its masters, until it passed definitely into the hands of the British Government. He was educated there at the public school which, under the auspices of the Government of the Batavian Republic, was conducted by Myn Heer van Ess, at whose establishment were brought up most of the men of that day who have adorned private life or distinguished themselves in the public service, not having had the advantage of a European education. His father, Andries Stockenstrom, a Swede by birth, had held several appointments under the Colonial Government, when towards the close of 1803, being then Secretary of the District of Swellendam, he was appointed Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. This appointment was conferred upon him because "for some years no one had been found who would undertake this arduous post ; and it was therefore the more necessary that it should now be filled by a person of so much firmness, united

with so much mildness, and on account of his well-known probity and accurate knowledge of the country."

The peace of this Division of the Colony had, during the interval of time to which we have just referred, become the problem of the Colonial Government. Want of means in the central Government, want of management on the part of some District functionaries, want of firmness in others, and ill-judged measures in the laudable endeavours of extending governmental jurisdiction and fiscal regulations to a part of the country inhabited by a population for years accustomed to no other rule than the patriarchal one of the Karroo, had contributed to render it a most difficult thing to maintain the authority of Government in these parts. And superadded to these were the difficulties in which the Government at headquarters was placed by the repeated changes of national jurisdiction,—all which rendered it simply impossible for any man not particularly adapted for the office to accept it with any chance of success. Mr. Stockenstrom accepted the onerous post, and having succeeded in establishing order, continued at the head of the District until his death in 1811.

In the year 1808 young Stockenstrom, being then in his sixteenth year, and having completed his schooling, found himself on his way to join his parents at Graaff Reinet in the company of a friend of his father, a farmer of the District who was returning from his annual *togt* to Cape Town. On the way, somewhere in the Karroo, while outspanned, a little incident occurred to which he frequently recurred in after-life as one of these little causes from which spring great events, and which is therefore worthy of being recorded. He was amusing himself with the waggon-whip by the side of the waggon

when a person dressed as a traveller, and on foot,—a most unlooked-for occurrence in the midst of the Karroo—stepped up to him and joined him in his amusement of “clapping” the waggon-whip. The traveller, finding that his new acquaintance was fluent in English, entered into conversation with him as to the direction and distances of certain localities, which, of course, he was quite unable to enlighten him upon; but having elicited from him that he was the son of Mr. Stockenstrom, shortly after took his leave. Not long after, on the same day, he received a message from Colonel Collins inviting him to dinner. The gentleman who had accosted him was Dr. Cowdrie, attached to a Commission of which Colonel Collins was the head, sent by the then Governor, the Earl of Caledon, on an inquiry to the Missionary Station at Bethelsdorp. The Commission was in the first instance on its way to Graaff Reinet, in order to avail itself of the assistance of the Landdrost; but on its arrival there, his father being unable from indisposition to accompany it, Colonel Collins invited his young friend to accompany them in the capacity of interpreter. His own idea in after-life was that this was not so much from any need the Commission had of an interpreter, as from a desire on the part of the Colonel to favour him. It had a marked influence upon his career, however, and was followed, almost immediately after, by his appointment as clerk to the Landdrost.

In 1811 he received from the Governor, Sir John Cradock, a commission as Ensign in the Cape Regiment, not, however, with any immediate view to his leaving the Civil Service, but rather for the purpose of carrying out the views of Government in maintaining order on the Frontier, which it was impossible to effect without the aid of the Burghers, at the same time that the old

Commando system was to be suppressed. The repeated inroads of the Kaffirs had resulted in much bloodshed and rapine, and ultimately in their having possessed themselves of the Brintjes Hóogte and Zuurberg. Colonel Graham was charged with the command of the force employed in dislodging them, and the Landdrost of Graaff Reinet with his Burghers was to co-operate with him. The military rank of his son, who was in effect attached as his subordinate, while it gave him nominally the command, was a proof at once of the confidence reposed by Government in the Landdrost and of a disposition to secure him against the slightest chance of having his measures thwarted by superior military authority. It was in the course of this campaign that the Landdrost met his lamented death at the hands of the Kaffirs. Into the particulars of the occurrence it is not our purpose, nor, indeed, have we the means, to enter fully. Suffice it to say, that having left his camp at Riet Rivier, near Zuurberg, with a slender escort of thirteen of his men, for the purpose of concerting a plan of operations with Colonel Graham, who was encamped some distance off, he was met by a large party of Kaffirs who invited him to a parley, desiring to know what all their military movements meant. Having explained to them what the intentions of the Government were, he was in the act of mounting with his escort when the Kaffirs attacked them, and killed the whole party, with the exception of one or two of the *agterryders*. Upon the death of his father, being then only nineteen years of age, he was invested with the command of the Burgher force, and continued in it till the cessation of hostilities. He was then appointed Deputy Landdrost of Cradock, which was formed into a sub-district of the Graaff Reinet Division: and in

1815 he became promoted to Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. It was here that his public life can be said to have become distinguished for administrative genius. The laying out of the town and many of the local arrangements now embodied in the Municipal Regulations testify to the largeness of his views and his aptness for detail. Education also during his administration received an impetus which has left a marked impression upon the generation which at that time was rising into manhood. And the promotion of the Gospel was cared for by the erection, by voluntary contributions, of the *Oefeningshuis*, and the establishment of the Graaff Reinet Missionary Society, now an institution of forty years' standing. In the Kaffir war of 1819 he served at the head of the Burghers of his Division, which then contained over two-thirds of what is now the Eastern Province and included the District of Beaufort ; and co-operating with General (then Colonel) Willshire in command of the King's forces, received the highest commendations for his services ; and in the month of May, 1823, he was promoted to Captain. He shortly after went on half-pay, and his connection with the army was not renewed again, but once in the war of 1846, he served with the local rank of Colonel of Burgher forces.

In 1828 he was appointed Commissioner-General of the Frontier, and in the same year he married Elsabe Helena, daughter of Gysbert Henry Maasdoorp, Esq., Director and Treasurer of the Government Bank. The official appointment just mentioned was abolished at his instance as a useless sinecure, and in 1833 he proceeded to Europe, intending to take up his permanent residence in Sweden whither he had retired, when he was called to England for the purpose of giving evidence before a

Committee of the House of Commons on Colonial Frontier matters. In 1834 he was sent out as Lieut.-Governor of the Eastern Province, and held that appointment until 1839, when at his own earnest solicitation he was permitted to throw it up, chiefly because he found it, what other successors to that office subsequently experienced it to be, an appointment conferring no real power for good, but rather calculated to invite obstruction to the public service, since it was not independent of the Central Government. Upon his resignation he was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom, as a reward "for his long and valuable services," and a pension of £700 a year was conferred upon him. He retired to his family in the Colony shortly after, and was residing on his property at Maastrom in 1846, when the Kaffir war broke out, and which summoned into the field not only the available troops, but the Burgher forces of the whole Colony. In this war, surrounded by the veterans, Mitford Bowker, Dods Pringle, and the present Sir Walter Currie, with a host of others, he had the command of upwards of three thousand men, forming the Third Division of the army. With this force he scoured the Amatola fastnesses, and opened up the communication with the other Divisions of the army under Colonel Hare, operating in the direction of Fort Cox, and Headquarters with the Second Division towards the Buffalo. After communicating with the Governor he carried his Burghers by forced marches across the Kei, where he brought Kreli to submission, and virtually ended the war. In this campaign, the last of his services in connection with Government, as on several occasions to which it is now needless to advert, in the course of his civil service, he did not fail to bring upon himself the misapprehension to which genius is

always liable in its contact with red-tape and pipe-clay, and a voluminous correspondence was, as usual, the consequence. The immediate consequence to himself was, that a constitution already seriously undermined by the tests to which it had been subjected during his long and arduous services was still further impaired, and he suffered to the end of his days from neuralgia and chronic bronchitis.

He was a member of the Legislative Council during Sir Harry Smith's administration; and with Mr. Fairbairn he formed a deputation in 1850 to solicit from the British Government a free constitution for the Colony: and after that being conceded he became one of the representatives of the Eastern Province in the Upper House. This, the last of his public services, he resigned in 1856, and retired to Europe with his family, where his eldest son, now Sir Gysbert Henry Stockenstrom, after completing his education, entered the army as an ensign in the 61st Foot, and his second son, Andries, is now (1864) completing his studies for the Bar.

Having undertaken this sketch as a public duty, it is not our intention to make any efforts at panegyric. We speak not of a stranger, but of one who was known to a former generation in this locality, as he subsequently became known to his countrymen at large in a subsequent one, for brilliancy of talent, for eloquence of speech, and not the less for sterling solidity and manly independence. Of large experience of mankind, his judgment of individuals was not easily swayed. He was well read, and never failed to command the respect of men of science and learning, although himself never affecting the learned or scientific man. His public despatches and the controversial correspondence to which he was on more than one occasion committed

are replete with cogency of argument and force of expression. A naturally ambitious and arbitrary disposition was tempered by the height of generosity ; and if mildness found but little place in a mind constituted as his was, it was never more wanting than at any exhibition of injustice. It was in this direction that concessions which other men know how to make were foreign to him ; and it was to this that he owed the frequent correspondence into which he got plunged at times. On the other hand, it was this sentiment, which he unflinchingly exhibited on all occasions without distinction of class or colour, that brought upon him the unpopularity he at one time incurred, and furnished rivals with the means of misrepresenting him in the eyes of the unthinking portion of his countrymen.

He died in London on the 15th of March last, (1864) in his 72nd year, having only two months before given his second daughter Maria in marriage to Sydney Godolphin Shippard, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

The object which Sir Andries had in view in writing his autobiographical notes was, as he often said, to make his children acquainted with his political career, which he feared they would never learn from any other quarter, and to stimulate them to espouse the cause of Truth, Justice, Humanity, and Christianity in its fullest acceptation.

In private life he was a most genial, agreeable, and interesting companion, full of amusing anecdote. A few of his tales of olden days are too good to be forgotten, and though they lose so much of their freshness by the translation of sentences from the Dutch into the English language, they are here told as faithfully and accurately as if taken down from his lips. Here is one, given in his usual style :—

“ I have told you how often I had, when Landdrost of Graaff Reinets, to ride to the remotest borders of the Colony, and necessarily fell in with all sorts of characters,

some very good, all that could be desired ; some very morose, and by no means the most amiable. I was not unfrequently accompanied in my rides by visitors who chanced to be staying at the Drosdty, and these were themselves of such varied positions that officers, civil and military, church dignitaries, travellers of repute, missionaries, &c., were constantly interchanging places at my side. On one occasion the Rev. W. Wright, a worthy missionary, happened to be my companion, and we had off-saddled during the heat of a summer day at a Dutch farmer's homestead in a remote corner of the Colesberg District, and found that something had that morning gone wrong with the good farmer's wife. Those provoking servants had put her out of temper, and she had not a good word to say for any of them. In the midst of a long harangue, in which she set forth all the demerits of the slaves, the Hottentots, the Kaffirs, and all the coloured classes on the face of the globe, she horrified the rev. gentleman by calling them 'Satan's Kinderen' (children of the Devil). He remonstrated, when she replied, 'What ! You a parson, and dispute that point ? Why, I'll prove it from the Bible.' This was more than the good man could well stand, and he ventured to assert there was 'no such doctrine in the Bible.' Upon this away went the good lady, quite sure of her orthodoxy, and brought out a very large heavy Dutch Bible with brass clasps, &c., and throwing it open at Genesis iii., and pointing to a *picture of the Temptation*, triumphantly said : 'There ! look there ! There stand Adam and Eve as white as we are, and there stands old Satan as black as they ! Can any one doubt whose descendants we are, and where the blacks come from ?' I am afraid, added Sir Andries, she did not make converts of either of us."

Another anecdote, illustrative of a different phase of Dutch character, may be recorded. The occurrence took place shortly after Cradock had become a seat of Magistracy, and the young Ensign was sojourning there as Deputy Landdrost. Among his Heemraden was one "Piet Jordaan," an elder of the Church, a man of some substance, and highly respected. Now it happened that this worthy man lost his wife, and the whole neighbourhood turned out to testify their respect and sympathy by attending the funeral. Among others the young Landdrost joined the mournful cortége. When the ceremonial was over, the disconsolate widower, observing the Landdrost among the crowd, came up to him apparently in the greatest distress, with the tears streaming down his face, and wringing his hands, unburdened his bleeding heart in the following pathetic words :—

"Oh, to go home, and not to find Antje there, is more than I can bear up against ; it is impossible !" Then, after a moment's pause : "But I know what I'll do ! I'll saddle my horse at once, and ride over to Grietje Potgieter, and pop the question to her this very evening !"

During his residence at Maasstrom he employed much of his time in teaching his children—in fact, they had no other instructor there—and he used to tell a story of olden days when he was Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, and had incurred the wrathful displeasure of some fair litigant by giving judgment against her, how she told him "a bit of her mind," and wound up a torrent of objurgations with—

"I hope the Governor will dismiss you from the Bench, and then you'll see what will become of you ! You may then become a waggon driver, or a leader ! or even a *schoolmaster* !"—the lowest grade in her estimation. "The old lady was a true prophet," Sir Andries would say : "here I am, dismissed Her Majesty's service ; I have frequently driven my own waggon ; and now I am fully installed as schoolmaster."

His private virtues were the counterpart of his public life. The very beau ideal of the "*Upright Man*." "I knew him all his days," said Colonel Bonamy upon hearing of his death, as "*Justissimus Unus*," an admirable epitaph for one who had so often stood *alone* in the defence of Truth and Uprightness.

He was very fond of the beautiful scenery of Maasstrom, which is referred to in the following stanzas written by him on his first visit to the place after it had been given to him:—

SOLITUDE.

Yon Northern beech-topp'd soaring cliff, beyond yon solemn dale,
Yon Western rock-crown'd frowning peak, o'erhanging Ella Vale,
Yon tranquil ridge, thence reaching South, that hides the sun's last beams,
Yon varying hills and glens in the East, where sweet Aurora gleams.
That cliff, that peak, yon ridge, those glens, this solitude surround
No voice but mine, no second tread the echoing kloofs resound ;
No witness here can check a crime, no tongue a fraud betray,
No censor wicked thoughts control, no power this arm can stay.
And if there were a danger nigh, no help within thy reach,
Alone, unarmed, o'erwhelmed with fear, whose aid can I beseech ?
Stop, man, d'ye see that foaming rill from yonder rocks rebounding ?
Nay, hark the peaceful feather'd flocks their happy joy-notes sounding !
D'ye hear Eolus' healthful blast the forest harp-strings moving,
There goes the bush buck, free as wind, its Maker's goodness proving ;
There sits the owl, perch'd o'er thy head ; oh, list and hear its moan :
In short, all nature round proclaims, "No, man ! thou'rt not alone !
Thou dar'st not sin, thy crime is seen, in danger need'st not fear,
Hold virtue fast, then face thy foe, for sure thy God is near !"

THE END.

INDEX

A

Abercrombie, Dr., II: 50
 Adamson, Dr., II: 50
 Addo River, I: 57, 61, 66
 Adelaide, II: 92, 99, 129, 414, 454
 Agricultural Society, Graaff-Reinet, I: 205-7; II: 447
 Aitchison, Captain, I: 395, 400
 Albany, I: 210, 253, 254, 278, 325-9, 330-3, 354; II: 51-6, 70, 270, 418
 Alberts, Field Cornet, II: 323-4
 Aldum, Jabez, II: 248, 255-7
 Alexander River. *See*: Orange River
 Algoa Bay, I: 10, 11, 25, 82, 132, 151; II: 355, 453
 Aliwal North, I: 41
 Amatola Mountains, I: 41; II: 375, 380, 462
 Anderson, Rev., I: 177, 180, 184-6
 Andrews, Captain, I: 91-1, 113-4, 241; II: 163, 172-6
 Anta, Chief, I: 404
 Arbuthnot, Sir Thomas, I: 62
 Armstrong, Major, I: 70, 99, 102, 125; II: 369, 397
 Arsaai, I: 29
 Aucamp, Pieter, II: 134, 140, 154, 164, 167
 Auret, Henry, I: 85-6
 Ayliff, John, II: 256-8
 Azerond, I: 294

B

Backhouse, James, II: 416-7
 Bain, Captain, II: 102, 356
 Baird, John, I: 116, 141, 148, 178
 Balfour, II: 70-2
 Bamboesbergen, I: 3
 Bangella, Chief, I: 314
 Barrow, I: 9
 Barry, Dr. James, II: 40, 98, 141
 Bashee River, I: 157, 369; II: 101, 123, 227-8
 Basookas Valley, I: 302
 Bastaards, I: 177-84
 Batavian Republic, I: 11, 12
 Baviaans River, I: 81, 89, 118, 128, 131, 172, 174-5, 183, 238, 252-3; II: 50, 250-1, 347, 369,

413, 419
 Beaufort, I: 116, 141, 147-8, 176, 210, 245, 330; II: 461
 Bechuanas, I: 184-7, 190, 214, 374-8, 388
 Beck, Joseph, I: 434
 Bedford, II: 312
 Bell, Lieut.-Col. Sir John, I: 204, 278, 297, 305, 332, 370, 409, 414; II: 352
 Bentinck, Judge, I: 200
 Bergh, Egbertus, I: 236
 Berkeley, Sir G., II: 376
 Bethelsdorp, I: 47, 363; II: 419, 459
 Bezuidenhout, Frederick, I: 89, 93, 96
 Bezuidenhout, Johannes, I: 91
 Bezuidenhout, Wynand, I: 406
 Biddulph, I: 356; II: 167-8, 372-3, 377-9, 397-8
 Bigge, I: 209, 211-20, 232
 Birch, Captain, I: 161
 Bird, Colonel C., I: 85, 99, 117, 129, 132-5, 140-2, 150-3, 160, 168, 176-9, 180-4, 193, 201, 209, 211, 237, 294, 336-8; II: 9, 342
 Bird River, I: 185
 Black, Captain, I: 215-6
 Blakeway, Major, II: 369, 379, 397-8
 Blinkwater, II: 428-9, 431
 Boezak, I: 11, 117, 401
 Boggeveld, I: 8, 40
 Bokkeveld, I: 176
 Bonamy, Colonel, I: 210, 212, 225, 234; II: 467
 Bonatz, Rev., II: 255, 261-2
 Boocho, I: 42, 155-8
 Boomplaats, II: 320
 Bootchooana. *See* Bechuana
 Booy, Hendrik, II: 437-8
 Boschberg, I: 46, 106, 117, 240
 Botha, Commandant, II: 134, 139, 140-2, 154, 159, 162-7, 177, 223, 234
 Botha, Field Cornet Andries, II: 306, 330, 359, 369, 374-7, 380-3, 427-9, 431, 439-40
 Botma(n), Chief, I: 252, 255, 295,

301-3, 313-4, 320-1, 362-3,
404-5; II: 114
Botman, Johannes, II: 86-7
Bourke, Lieut. Governor-General,
I: 258-9, 267, 278, 281, 291,
295-7, 366; II: 15, 350, 353,
403, 447
Bovey, II: 398
Bowker, Captain John Mitford,
II: 111, 114, 122, 167, 217, 379,
462
Boyce, Rev. W., II: 80
Brak River, I: 57, 382-3, 388;
II: 50
Brand, Advocate, II: 324, 342
Breakfast Vlei, I: 362
Breda, I: 206
Breede River, I: 13, 16
Brereton, Colonel, I: 115, 117,
145, 149, 335, 348; II: 277
Bresler, Landdrost, I: 5, 7-9, 92;
II: 24
British Settlers, 1820, I: 130-2,
134, 167-72, 238, 255, 294, 338,
413; II: 53-6
Bronkhorst, Sybrand, I: 375-7,
383, 387
Brownlee, Rev. Charles, I: 356;
II: 238, 272-3, 280, 398
Bruce's Letters, I: 344
Bruintjies Hoogte, I: 7, 10-11, 22,
38, 46, 52, 57, 118, 252-3;
II: 50, 460
Buchner, Field Cornet, II: 157-8
Buffalo River, I: 42, 44, 62, 122,
154-6, 311, 356, 397; II: 222,
225, 231, 233, 462
Buis, Coenraad, I: 179-89
Buissine, Judge, II: 24, 193, 199-
209
Burckhardt, I: 36
Burger, Field Cornet Schalk,
I: 377-8, 383
Burger, Heemraad A. P., I: 6
Burger Commandos, I: 2-3, 6-7,
52-3, 58-67, 72-80, 86-9, 98-
103, 110, 115-9, 128, 142-5,
148, 154-9, 303-5, 315, 319-21,
328-9, 334-8, 356-9, 381;
II: 69, 138, 169-71, 217-68,
291, 299-300
Burgersdorp, I: 41
Burgher Senate, I: 249

Burns' Hill, II: 216-9, 224, 229,
232, 290, 298, 343, 374
Burton, Judge, I: 278, 291; II:
354, 403
Bushman's River, I: 10, 13, 46,
52, 61-2, 355; II: 251
Bushmen, I: 2-3, 8, 15, 27, 36-9,
85, 126, 141-2, 148, 184, 187-
90, 209-15, 222-30, 243-6, 305,
372-9, 381-8; II: 349
Buxton, Thomas Fowell, I: 423,
426; II: 440

C

Calderwood, II: 398-403
Caledon, Governor Earl, I: 31,
47-8, 51, 54-6, 64-6, 86, 270,
284, 334, 427-9; II: 459
Caledon River Institution, I: 373,
380-1
Caledon River, I: 40, 213
Camdeboo, I: 2, 3, 38, 45, 85
Cameron, Captain, I: 172
Campbell, Captain Duncan, I:
356, 440; II: 131, 146, 156-8,
161-3, 166-7, 177, 369, 397
Campbell, Rev., I: 187-9
Cathcart, Governor Sir George,
I: 368-9; II: 308, 314, 383-6,
390-3, 436-8, 443
Chaka, Chief, I: 213
Chakka, Chief, I: 5, 190
Charters, Major Samuel, II: 148,
177-8, 194-207
Chase, John Centlivres, II: 131-3,
136, 161-3
Chronicles of Cape Commanders by
G. M. Theal, I: 12-3
Chumie, I: 301, 311, 314, 318,
336, 398, 404; II: 66, 104, 344,
409, 421
Circuit Courts, I: 48, 90
Clanwilliam, I: 51, 330
Clark, Rev., I: 373, 380
Cloete, Lieut.-Colonel, II: 240,
276
Coetzee, Gert, I: 95-7
Cole, Governor Sir Lowry, I: 214,
266, 297, 358-65, 366-70,
410-4; II: 41-2, 57, 281, 318,
350, 354, 359-61, 365, 369-74,
379, 381, 437, 447-8
Colesberg, I: 33, 39, 212-4, 227,

231, 245, 383-7; II: 273, 465
 Colebrooke, Major, I: 209-11
 Collins, Colonel, I: 10-12, 31-2,
 39-41, 44-51, 55, 64, 86, 123,
 225, 334; II: 349, 459
Commercial Advertiser, South African,
 II: 130-5, 140, 214, 222, 345,
 412, 441
 Commission of Enquiry, 1820,
 I: 164-6, 195-9
 Commission of Enquiry, 1823,
 I: 209-35, 241-2, 248, 251, 254,
 267, 271; II: 9, 14
 Commission of Enquiry, 1838,
 I: 65; II: 148-82
 Commission of Enquiry, 1851,
 II: 387-90, 398-9
 Comtees River, I: 361-2; II: 103
 Council of Policy, Dutch East
 India Company, I: 2, 3, 14, 16
 Conga, Chief Kobus, I: 5, 8, 9, 10,
 61, 304, 308-13, 360, 395; II:
 79, 108, 111, 138, 277
 Corunnas, I: 228-30, 374-8, 385-8
 Court of Enquiry, II: 60, 98
 Cowan, Dr, I: 40, 182
 Cowdery, Dr., I: 32, 41, 47
 Coxannas. *See*: Corunnas
 Cradock, I: 82-3, 85-6, 94-5, 147,
 210; II: 139, 246-7, 251, 264-5,
 270
 Cradock, Governor Sir John,
 I: 56, 61, 64-8, 71, 75, 80-6,
 106, 131, 138, 217; II: 170, 354,
 378, 447, 459, 466
 Craig, Governor Sir J. H., I: 7-8,
 23
 Currie, Sir Walter, II: 273, 462
 Cuyler, Major, I: 47, 56-7, 62, 83,
 98-9, 139, 169; II: 165, 174

D

Daniell, Lieut.-Colonel John, I:
 278
 Debe, I: 44, 115
 de Beer, Field Cornet Samuel,
 I: 30
 de Bruins Drift, II: 250
 de Lange, Field Cornet Hans,
 I: 406-7
 de Mist, Commissioner, I: 12, 30
 Derby, Lord, II: 337
 Devenish, Lieutenant, I: 172, 239;

II: 231-2, 240, 244, 250
De Volkstem, I: 7
 de Wet, O. G., I: 7
 Donkin, Governor Sir Rufane,
 I: 129, 167-84, 190-2, 202, 210,
 216, 237-41, 270, 292-4, 302-5,
 337-8, 343; II: 342, 355, 418-9
 Donovan, Lieutenant, I: 40, 182
 Doorn Nek, I: 59, 60
 Dreyer, II: 306, 320
 Drummond, Captain, I: 179
 Duchana, Chief, I: 308, 313
 Dundas, Major, I: 9-11, 139, 278,
 300-4, 340; II: 25, 148, 162,
 177-8, 370
 du Plessis, Captain J., I: 8
 du Plessis, Field Cornet Paul,
 I: 60, 67, 118-9
 du Pré, Jan, I: 377, 383-4, 388
 D'Urban, Governor Sir Benjamin,
 I: 135, 139; II: 21, 41-2, 49,
 56-7, 61-3, 84, 91-6, 148, 154,
 189, 321, 327-9, 368-9, 373-4,
 392-7, 420, 439
 Dutch East India Company,
 I: 2-4, 13-6, 332
 du Toit, Andries, I: 84
 du Toit, Commandant, II: 218,
 222-32, 238, 242-3, 280

E

Ebden, John Bardwell, II: 399,
 444
 Eksteen, Commandant, II: 230,
 241
 England, Colone, II: 101, 112
 Eno, Chief, I: 104, 295, 301,
 313-4, 321, 362-3, 397; II: 114,
 128, 180
 Enslin, II: 165, 168
 Erasmus, Peter, II: 140, 144-5,
 156-62
 Erasmus, Provisional Field Com-
 mandant, I: 356, 395, 399-404;
 II: 76
 Esterhuizen, Field Cornet, I: 373
 Evatt, Captain Frank, I: 52

F

Fabre, Cornelis, I: 91
 Fairbairn, I: 205; II: 7, 8, 26, 50,
 130, 135, 147, 337-8, 463
 Fako, Chief, II: 128

Faure, Landdrost Anthony Alexander, I: 15, 28
 Faure, Rev. A., I: 202, 205
 Fetcani, Chief, I: 279
 Field, II: 449
 Finan, Dr., I: 215
 Fingoes, I: 281, 370; II: 33, 36, 70-9, 102-8, 111-4, 123, 379, 398, 422, 428
 Fischer, Landdrost, I: 80-3, 86-7
 Fish River, I: 4-6, 12, 46-52, 57, 62-3, 80, 98, 114-5, 119, 122-4, 132, 143, 146, 153, 216, 333-6, 361, 367-8, 408; II: 36, 69, 102-6, 114, 219, 229, 241, 245, 250, 417
 Fort Beaufort, I: 98, 311, 318-21, 339, 363, 394, 397-9; II: 113, 217, 220, 251, 261, 265, 272-3, 287, 364
 Fort Beresford, II: 221, 224, 229-31, 235, 242, 275
 Fort Block Drift, II: 242, 250, 267, 281, 287, 291, 374
 Fort Cox, I: 44; II: 69, 222, 230, 242, 250-1, 462
 Fort Frazer's Camp, II: 103
 Fort Murray, I: 78
 Fort Peddie, I: 121; II: 79, 104, 108, 110-4, 279, 281, 376
 Fort Rex, II: 281
 Fort White, II: 69
 Fort Willshire, I: 184, 252, 301-4, 361-2, 395-7, 400-3; II: 42, 69, 98, 114, 281, 368
 Franklin, II: 63
 Fraser, Major George Sashwell, I: 54, 60-2, 80-2, 85, 90-1, 98-9, 110, 119, 120, 137, 145, 148, 151-3, 237
 Frazer, Captain, II: 153, 165, 170-6
 Fredericksburg, I: 338
 Frontier Policy—Coles System, I: 366-8
 Frontier Policy—Commando System, I: 100-1, 143-7
 Frontier Policy—D'Urban System, II: 30-49, 57, 62, 65-76, 94-104, 296, 327-9
 Frontier Policy—Glenelg System, I: 105; II: 29, 57, 94, 104-28, 181, 213, 327-9, 330, 447

Frontier Policy—Neutral Territory, I: 126-7
 Frontier Policy—Patrol and Reprisal system, I: 99-106, 126, 251-4, 308-9, 322-51, 393-4, 406-7
 Frontier Times, II: 63
 Fuller, II: 369, 379, 397
 Fuller's Kloof, II: 171-2
 Fundees, Chief, I: 313
 Fynn, II: 112, 239, 254-8, 278, 282-3

G

Gaika, Chief, I: 12, 42-6, 57, 62, 98, 105, 115, 119, 123, 145, 150-60, 168, 237-8, 252-4, 293-4, 301-14, 319, 334-8, 343, 362-3; II: 102, 104, 111, 114, 234, 239, 277-9, 354-5, 417-8
 Gamka River, I: 31
 Gamtoos River, I: 12
 Gelela, Chief, II: 404
 Genade Berg. *See*: Colesberg
 Genadendal, I: 353-4
 George, II: 136
 Gerotz, Landdrost C. D., I: 7, 8, 26, 92
 Gethin, Captain, I: 114, 116
 Gilbert, II: 398
 Gilfillan, Lieutenant, I: 114
 Glaeser, George, I: 54-5
 Glenelg, Lord, II: 28-30, 56-7, 61, 69, 76, 91-3, 106, 114, 122, 178-205, 213, 266-7, 274-5, 280, 284, 321, 325, 329
 Glen Lynden, II: 50, 332, 347, 370, 436
 Goderich, Lord, I: 366; II: 366
 Godlonton, Honourable R. G., II: 398-9, 404-12, 441-4
 Gola, Chief, I: 363
 Gonappe River, I: 301-5, 311, 315, 320, 337-9, 340
 Gordon, Lieutenant, II: 257
 Goup, I: 22
 Government Gazette, II: 378-80
 Governor's Kop, I: 63
 Graaff-Reinet, I: 1-7, 17-21, 24-34, 39-41, 50-1, 57, 61, 64, 67-8, 94-7, 106-7, 110, 126, 130, 169, 173-4, 180, 184-5, 202-7, 210-11, 219, 240, 249,

253, 258-9, 273, 300, 325-30, 355; II: 8, 50, 58, 273, 347, 453-60, 408-10

Graaff Reinet Advertiser, II: 456-67
Graaff-Reinet Missionary Society, II: 461

Graham, Colonel John, I: 55-7, 61-2, 68, 72-4, 86, 139, 172-3, 334; II: 25, 460

Grahamstown, I: 63, 80, 99, 117, 136-7, 145, 158, 161-3, 178, 183-5, 192, 211, 251, 304, 353, 360, 396; II: 51-6, 60, 85, 97-9, 250, 266, 281-3, 296, 368, 378

Grahamstown Journal, II: 131, 147, 404

Grant, Captain, I: 168, 238, 294, 338, 418

Gray, General, I: 54-6

Great Trek—Causes, II: 57, 59, 61-3, 67, 72-8, 81-4, 87, 97

Gregory, I: 209, 217-8, 220

Grey, Sir George, II: 30, 189, 289-90, 295, 301, 317, 332-9, 344-7, 386-9

Grey River, I: 41

Greyling, Field Cornet Abraham, I: 60, 96-7

Griquas, I: 213-4, 228-9, 278, 372-88, 392; II: 431

Griqua Town, I: 174, 177, 180-5

Groepe, Commandant C. J., I: 400, 403, 405; II: 238, 272, 280, 433, 441-3

Gruning, II: 160

Gwadda, Chief, II: 258, 282-3

H

Habana, Chief, I: 10, 12, 58

Harding, Captain, I: 110-3, 130, 136, 164, 172, 237, 241

Hare, Colonel, II: 191-9, 213, 220-5, 242, 250, 258-9, 375, 462

Hart, Asst. Commandant Robert, I: 55, 65, 152, 172, 211, 413-6; II: 88, 98, 262

Haslope Hills Mission Station, II: 257-8

Havelock, Colonel, II: 60

Hawes, II: 372

Hay, I: 429

Heemraden, I: 6, 5, 60, 67, 87,

194, 258, 271-3, 282-4; II: 10
Heemraden, Boards of, I: 67, 87-9, 106-9, 126, 220, 249, 271-2; II: 10, 62, 447

Hell Poort, II: 251-2

Helon, Rev., I: 187

Hendriks, Hendrik, II: 438-9

Hermanus Kraal, I: 63

Herschel, Sir John, I: 204; II: 208

Hertzog, Surveyor-General W. F., II: 397, 432-5

Heugh, II: 299

Hintza, Chief, I: 42-4, 115, 122-3, 154-60, 312, 363, 369; II: 57-8, 101-2, 111-2, 138, 277

Hlambe, Chief Regent, I: 44-57, 115, 123

Hogg, Captain, II: 222-4, 231, 242, 247-9, 252-6, 260-7, 274, 283, 388

Hope Major, II: 389, 399

Hottentots, I: 6, 10, 11, 18, 23-4, 36, 42, 48, 50, 79, 93, 117, 126, 144-7, 152, 168, 282-3, 288-91, 295, 332-3, 340-1, 352, 355, 364-70, 391, 404, 409, 416; II: 8-11, 36, 69-73, 99-101, 224, 229, 243, 349-444

Hottentot Charter. *See*: Proclamation, 1809

Hudson, Hougham, I: 114, 208, 217, 241; II: 60, 213

Humane Policy by Bannister, I: 344

Huntley, H., I: 254

Hutton, Henry, II: 237-8

Imvanie Expedition, II: 252, 259-65

I

Ingram, Captain, II: 183-9

Innes, Dr. James Rose, I: 203-7; II: 50, 373-4, 417-26

J

Jalousa, Chief, I: 154

James, Major, I: 210

Jan Dissels Vlei. *See*: Clanwilliam

Janssens, Commissioner-General, I: 11, 12, 26, 30, 66, 109, 284

Jarvis, II: 158, 160

Jejanie, Chief, I: 394-6

Johnstone, Lieut.-Colonel, II: 226, 232-8, 243-7, 252, 263, 268,

272-5, 280-3
 Jordaen, Commandant, II: 230
 Joubert, Field Cornet, I: 373-4,
 383-5; II: 12, 238, 260, 280

K

Kabooga Poort, I: 62
 Kaboosie River, I: 41-2, 122, 155,
 226, 233, 236, 242-4, 250, 275
 Kaffir Drift, I: 360-1
 Kaga River, I: 46, 103, 119, 163,
 239, 300, 340, 401, 408, 413;
 II: 104, 361
 Kai, Chief, I: 311-3, 397
 Kama, Chief, I: 304, 308-12, 360;
 II: 79, 108, 254, 321-5
 Kariaga Bush, I: 355
 Karoomo River, I: 46, 160, 163,
 337; II: 171, 251
 Karroo, I: 30, 40, 54, 84, 111
 Kasa, Chief, I: 58
 Kat River, I: 63, 98, 106, 116, 163,
 168, 173, 237, 292-4, 302-5,
 315-8, 334-8, 339-40, 355-8,
 365-7, 370, 394, 397-9, 405-9;
 II: 36, 50, 70-1, 103, 112-4,
 129, 245-6, 250-1, 263-7, 281,
 297, 330, 354, 358-444
 Kay, Rev., I: 279, 397
Kay's Researches by Rev. Kay, I:
 344
 Kei River, I: 41-5, 91, 122-6,
 153-5; II: 32, 68, 102, 123, 126,
 221-7, 234, 236-7, 240-6, 250,
 260, 276, 281, 375, 462
 Keiskamma River, I: 44-6, 63,
 118-22, 132, 153-4, 311-2, 336,
 362, 366-8, 370, 396; II: 33-6,
 102-5, 113, 222-6, 233, 298, 417
 Kekewich, Judge, I: 278, 431-2;
 II: 147
 King William's Town, II: 50, 66,
 79, 108-10, 122
 Klaas Smit's River, II: 318, 321,
 327
 Klipkraal, I: 113
 Klip Plaat River. *See*: Shiloh
 Klopper, II: 138-9, 142-5, 154-6,
 159-67, 177
 Knox, Dr. Robert, I: 119, 162-5
 Knysna, I: 132
 Kok, Chief Adam, I: 373-8,
 384-6

Kolbe, Rev., I: 373, 380
 Kommetjies Flats. *See*: Debe Flats
 Koonap River, I: 46, 63, 116, 238,
 294, 367; II: 77-9, 129, 219,
 246, 250-1, 263, 355-9
 Kournay, I: 57-61
 Kowie, I: 62-3, 355
 Kreli, Chief, II: 226-8, 231, 234-
 60, 263-83, 289, 375, 462
 Kraai River. *See*: Grey River
 Kroome River, II: 246
 Kruger, Jacobus, I: 90, 94-5
 Kruger, Chief Abraham, I: 377-8,
 386
 Kruger, Field Cornet, I: 373
 Kweek Valley, I: 30-2

L

Lande, Chief, I: 42
 Langa, I: 104, 295
Larkins, S.S., II: 183-9, 209, 213
 Latakoo, I: 184-7
 Leeb, Surveyor, I: 173, 207, 241,
 294; II: 50
 Leckie, Captain, I: 93
 Leeuwfontein, II: 251
 Legislative Council, 1828—Mem-
 bers, I: 278
 Leibbrandt, Rev. H. C. V., I: xi,
 12
 Libertas Farm, I: 109, 112
 Lichtenstein, H., I: 17-20, 30-2
Light and Shade by Rev. W.
 Thompson, II: 350
 Lindaque, Barend, I: 5
 Linde, Commandant, II: 230-1,
 242
 Lloyd, II: 164-5
Locusts and Trekbokken by Andries
 Stockenstrom, I: 34-9
 Lombaard, Field Cornet, II: 87,
 124
 Love, Klaas, II: 273
 Lyndock Farm, I: 173
 Lyster, Major Thomas, I: 53

M

Maasdorp, Gysbert Henry, II:
 461
 Maaström Farm, I: 173; II: 215,
 302-7, 312-8, 330, 462, 466-7
 Macartney, Governor Earl, I: 333,
 417

Macaulay, Zachariah, I: 423
 Macdougall, Duncan, I: 54
 MacNeal, Captain, I: 62, 81
 Macomo, Chief, I: 44, 237, 292-5,
 298-321, 332, 340-1, 346-7,
 352, 362-3, 397-9, 400-5; II:
 66-7, 100-2, 114, 231, 236-9,
 245, 354-60, 404, 418-9
 Magono, Chief, II: 123, 128
 Magoogoo, Chief, I: 394-7
 Maitland, Captain Charles, II:
 240
 Maitland, Governor Sir Peregrine,
 II: 215-7, 220, 234-7, 240-9,
 259-62, 265-283, 289-92, 314,
 373-5
 Makanna, prophet, I: 117, 120-3,
 166
 Malan, Field Cornet, II: 87
 Maletzana, Chief, I: 386-7
 Malow, Chief, I: 9
 Mancazana Valley, I: 175, 397;
 II: 379, 398, 418
 Mapassa, Chief, II: 72, 109, 227,
 237-9, 244-5, 252-7, 263-6,
 282, 322, 375
 Maroatta, Chief, II: 5
 Mapomo, II: 257
 Massey, Captain, I: 103
 Matabee, Chief, I: 187-9
 Matroos, Chief Hermanus, II:
 369-74, 381-2, 397-8
 Matthews, I: 68-9
 Maynier, Landdrost, I: 6-11,
 21-3, 26, 46, 92, 96
 McKay, I: 237, 240
 Meintjies, I: 95-6, 109-13, 117,
 148-52, 172, 241
 Meintjies, H. A., II: 50
 Melville, Rev., I: 191, 373, 380,
 386-7
 Menzies, Judge, I: 278, 408-10;
 II: 147, 317, 359, 361, 366-7,
 370, 374, 420
 Meurant, II: 260
 Meyer's Farm, I: 63
 Michell, Colonel, II: 213, 414
 Mildenhall, II: 123
 Miller, Commandant, I: 154
 Miller, Thomas, I: 240-3
 Mills, Daniel, I: 207-8
 Mitchell, Major, I: 139
 Moffat, Rev. Robert, I: 187

Molesworth, Major, I: 138
 Moltano, Commandant, II: 218,
 230, 238, 244, 280
 Montagu, Lord, I: 370, 414;
 II: 317-8, 331-2, 387, 427, 434
 Moodie, D., II: 130-5, 163-4
 Morgan, Rev. George, II: 50
 Moshesh, Chief, II: 386
 Mosilikatze, Chief, II: 74
 Mossel Bay, I: 18, 132
 Mount Coke Mission Station, I:
 311, 397
 Muller, Theodorus, I: 236, 255
 Murray, Rev. Andrew, I: 203,
 214, 233; II: 50
 Munro, Commissary, II: 332
 Murray, Sir George, II: 360
 Musgrave, II: 155, 167

N

Namaqualand, I: 124
 Nantoo Farm, I: 62-3
 Napier, Governor Sir George,
 I: 204, 413; II: 60, 91-2, 148,
 175, 178, 181-2, 189-207,
 210-4, 298, 314, 337, 371, 374,
 379
*Narrative of a Residence in South
 Africa* by T. Pringle, I: 97, 166
*Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius
 and South Africa* by James Back-
 house, II: 417
 Naudé's Hoek Farm, I: 113
 Nel, II: 260
 Neuka, Chief, I: 252-3
 Newvelders, I: 225
 Nonube, Chief, II: 108
 Nooka, Hendrik, I: 145
 Normanby, Lord, II: 193-5,
 200-11
 Norton, Judge Edward, II: 159-60
 Nourse, Temple, II: 217-8

O

Olela, Chief, I: 10
 Oliphant, Attorney General, II:
 155, 181, 278
 Oliphant's Hoek, II: 97
 Olivier, Field Cornet C., I: 52
 Olivier, Hendrik Christoffel, II:
 58-9, 165
 Orange River, I: 32-4, 38-40,
 125, 174-81, 185, 190, 208,

213-4, 248, 339, 372-9, 385;
 II: 214, 296, 325-7
 Ord, Captain John, I: 46
 Ordinance 49, I: 303-4, 311, 331
 Ordinance 50, I: 48, 286-91, 311,
 331; II: 8, 9, 59, 84, 358, 402-3,
 446-7
 O'Reilly, II: 162
 Orphan Chamber, Cape Town,
 I: 8
 Oberholster, John, I: 176
 Oberholzen, II: 12
 Outeniqualand, I: 18
 Owen, II: 388, 399

P

Pakington, Sir John, I: 425
 Panmure, Lord, II: 293
 Pato, Chief, I: 304, 308-13, 360,
 397; II: 79, 108, 128, 239, 273,
 279, 376
 Patriots, I: 32, 69, 96
 Paver, Richard, II: 238, 272
 Pawana, Chief, I: 317, 320; II:
 404
 Peddie, Colonel, II: 60, 182
 Philip, Dr. John, I: 210-13, 228,
 232-3, 238, 243-5, 292-4, 390;
 II: 8-10, 26, 159, 168, 181
 Philips, Justice of Peace, I: 356
 Philipolis Mission Station, I: 228
 373, 381, 384, 387; II: 59
 Philipton, II: 423
 Phoonas Kraal, I: 119
 Pienaar, Abel, I: 207
 Plasket, Sir Richard, I: 237,
 240-3, 248-51, 259-61, 271,
 278, 297
 Plettenberg Bay, I: 132
 Port Elizabeth, I: 48
 Port Natal, II: 194
 Porter, Adv., II: 389, 398, 449
 Potgieter, Field Cornet, I: 207
 Pottinger, Sir Henry, I: 370;
 II: 290-6, 314, 328, 343-4, 372,
 376-9, 393
 Proclamation, 1809, I: 79, 88
 Pretorius, Field Cornet Abraham,
 I: 81-2, 118, 383
 Pretorius, Andries, II: 296, 305,
 433, 438
 Pretorius, Field Cornet Charl, I:
 118; II: 60, 134, 140-2, 153-4,

164-7, 171-3
 Pretorius, Field Cornet Zacharias,
 II: 297, 305, 321-4
 Prince Albert. *See*: Zwarteberg
 Pringle John, I: 206
 Pringle, Thomas, I: 33, 74, 168,
 174, 201-5, 243, 251, 413-4,
 422, 432; II: 50
 Pringle, Commandant Dodds, II:
 238 267 272-4, 280, 462
 Prinsloo, Hendrik, I: 90, 94;
 II: 161, 172
 Proclamation, 1809, I: 48

R

Rabe, Captain, II: 70-1
 Rabie, Heemraad, I: 206
 Rattray, Lieutenant, II: 207
 Rawstorne, I: 214; II: 111
 Read, Rev. James, Snr., I: 47;
 II: 349, 433
 Read, Field Captain, II: 238,
 262-6, 272, 423
 Reitz, I: 206
 Rennie, II: 155
 Retief, Field Commandant Piet,
 II: 72, 80, 84
 Rice, Spring, II: 23, 31, 76
 Rivers, Landdrost, I: 210
 Robben Island, I: 120
 Roberts, Christian, I: 60
 Robertson, Dr. William, I: 203-5
 Rodger, C. J., II: 433
 Rogers Colonel, I: 139, 164
 Roggevelt, I: 22
 Roode Waal, I: 178, 183
 Ross, Rev., I: 314-6
 Routenbag's Drift, I: 52, 62
 Russell, Lord John, I: 425; II:
 203, 209, 301-2, 317, 332-6,
 347
 Rutherford, H. E., II: 389, 399,
 444
 Ryneveld, I: 384

S

Saltpans Nek, I: 47, 61
 Samson, Gerrit, II: 437, 441-3
 Sandile, Chief, II: 108, 114, 231,
 239, 245, 300-5, 417
 Schaapkraal I: 41
 Scott, Colonel, I: 137
 Sea Cow River, I: 33, 38, 225

- Seagram, Captain, II: 252, 256–7, 260, 265–6, 271
- Shaw, Rev., I: 311–2, 340; II: 39
- Shepstone, Commissioner, II: 323
- Sheridan, Thomas, I: 98, 100, 106, 111
- Shiloh Mission Station, I: 41; II: 71–3, 221, 239, 246–9, 252, 260–6, 270, 275, 283
- Slagters Nek Rebellion, I: 89–97
- Slambi, Chief, I: 12, 313; II: 111, 128, 180, 220, 234, 277–9
- Slave Code, I: 13, 14
- Slaves, Emancipation of, I: 258–66; II: 1, 4–6, 11, 59, 62, 82, 446
- Smit, Field Cornet Abram, I: 118, 154
- Smith, Governor Sir Harry, I: 135, 370; II: 42–8, 64–9, 79, 97–100, 109, 292–7, 317, 327–34, 368–9, 379, 383, 387–9, 398, 436, 463
- Smith, Rev. Alexander, I: 203
- Smith, Major, II: 254, 258, 283
- Sneeuwberg, I: 22, 32–3, 37, 39
- Somerfield, Major, I: 93
- Somerset, I: 240, 325–7, 330, 354, 365; II: 50, 251, 264, 270, 369, 378, 453
- Somerset, Governor Lord Charles, I: 68, 85, 92, 98–9, 106–14, 126–8, 139–42, 147–52, 160, 192, 202–4, 209, 216–8, 236–42, 258, 270, 293, 302–6, 334–8, 366; II: 12–13, 104, 318, 354, 417
- Somerset, Colonel Henry, I: 129–30, 136–7, 161–5, 237–9, 251–3, 257–9, 295, 301–9, 314–22, 327–9, 339–40, 354, 358, 407, 429; II: 41, 69–70, 89, 98–9, 112, 124, 158, 207, 228–30, 241–2, 292, 334, 370, 376–7
- South Africa, Past and Present* by Noble, II: 317
- Southey, Richard, II: 111
- Stanley, Colonial Secretary, I: 431; II: 20, 85, 86
- Steenkamp, Field Cornet, I: 345
- Stellenbosch, I: 2, 18, 33, 50, 119
- Stephen, Under-Secretary, I: 431; II: 30, 194–6, 203–9
- Sterrenberg, William Pretorius, I: 30
- Stock, Chief, II: 128, 180
- Stockenström, Mrs. Elsabe Helena (née Maasdorp), I: 417, 428, 439–40; II: 22–5, 29, 40, 208, 215, 286, 303, 311, 455–6, 461
- Stoll, J. W., I: 204, 278, 440; II: 24, 27
- Stretch, Captain Charles Lennox, I: 172; II: 47, 111, 114, 122, 165, 173, 213, 223, 251, 275, 369, 375, 417
- Stuurman, Klaas, I: 10–2
- Sunday's River, I: 33, 46, 61, 176; II: 102
- Surtees, II: 388, 399
- Sutton, Colonel, II: 374–5
- Sutu, Chieftainess, II: 108, 114
- Swanepoel, II: 165, 168
- Swellendam, I: 2, 4, 11–18, 28, 32–3, 51, 119

T

- Tambookies, I: 157, 298, 305–8, 313–20, 340, 346; II: 35, 72, 111, 227–8, 234, 239, 244–9, 253–7, 260–4, 279, 282, 297, 318–25, 354, 375, 404, 419, 431
- Tarka, I: 41, 94, 118, 155, 160, 299, 320, 341, 382–3, 389; II: 50, 73, 255, 283, 354, 419
- Theal, George M., I: 12–13
- Theopolis Mission Station, II: 399, 419
- Thomson, Rev. W. R., I: 301–3, 311, 314; II: 51, 361, 365–7, 422–5
- Thompson, George, I: 208, 278
- Tjalie, Chief, I: 363, 395–9, 400–5; II: 66, 100, 114, 128, 418
- Tichla, Chief, I: 404
- Tolleson, I: 29
- Toorn Berg. *See*: Colesberg
- Travels in South Africa* by H. Lichtenstein, I: 17–27
- Tsambie, Chief, I: 154–9, 145–6, 160
- Tulbagh, I: 30, 61, 67, 148, 176
- Tyumie River, I: 42–4, 57, 63, 118–9, 127; II: 221–3
- Tzatzoe, Chief, II: 416

U

Uitenhage, I: 12, 47, 50, 80,
151-2, 324, 327-9, 353-4, 373;
II: 50, 91, 97
Umhala, Chief, II: 79, 123, 128,
239
Umtirara, Chief, II: 253-60, 265,
322

V

Vaal River, I: 213; II: 325
Vicars, Colonel, II: 170-3
van de Graaff, Governor Cornelis
Jacob, I: 3, 18
van der Graaff, John, I: 86, 90-2
van der Kemp, Dr., I: 47, 83-4;
II: 349
van der Poel, Landdrost, I: 7, 92
van der Walt, Field Cornet
Tjaart, I: 40, 118, 155, 373,
385; II: 12, 90
van Ess, I: 28; II: 457
van Jaarsveld, Field Commandant
Adrian, I: 6-11, 24
van Plettenberg, Governor Joa-
chim, I: 2-4
van Rensburg, Field Commandant
H. Jansen, I: 8, 9
van Ryneveld, Chief Justice, I:
73-4
van Ryneveld, D., I: 49, 51
van Ryneveld, Magistrate, II:
164-6, 173, 177
van Wyk, Field Cornet Stephanus,
I: 90, 94, 118, 155, 383-4
van Wyk, Louis, I: 94; II: 12
Venter, Piet, I: 94
Vermaas, I: 29
Vickers, Colonel, I: 80-2, 85

W

Wade, Colonel, II: 136-7, 142,
145, 161, 367, 412-4, 420
Walker, II: 416-7
Warner, Rev., II: 259, 263

Wallace, Captain, I: 62
Waterboer, Chief, I: 213
Watermeyer, G., I: 207
Wesleyville, I: 311
Whitworth, Rev., I: 228
Williams, Rev., I: 98, 106
Wienand, II: 398
Willshire, Commandant Sir
Thomas, I: 117-24, 127, 151-5,
158-9, 163, 178, 336, 348; II:
277, 461
Winterberg, I: 91, 333, 357,
366-7; II: 216, 264, 369
Winterhoek, I: 218
Winterveld, I: 223, 345
Wittebergen, I: 213, 225
Woeke, Landdrost, I: 46, 92, 96
Wood, Benjamin, II: 208, 213
Wright, Rev. William, I: 243;
II: 39, 465
Wylde, Chief Justice Sir John,
I: 278, 412-3, 422, 432; II:
147, 213, 415

X

Xoxo, I: 105, 295

Y

Young, Governor Sir Henry,
II: 294

Z

Zebeco, Chief, I: 394-6, 407
Zekoe, Chief, I: 105, 295, 349,
393-403; II: 59, 146, 151,
156-8, 161
Ziervogel, Egidius Benedictus,
I: 29, 85, 86
Zuurberg, I: 57, 61-2, 68; II: 219,
251, 344, 460
Zwarteberg, I: 22, 30, 116
Zwager's Hoek, I: 96, 113, 118,
173, 434; II: 264, 313, 323, 419
Zwartkops, I: 11, 22

